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ST. LOUIS

OUTLAW

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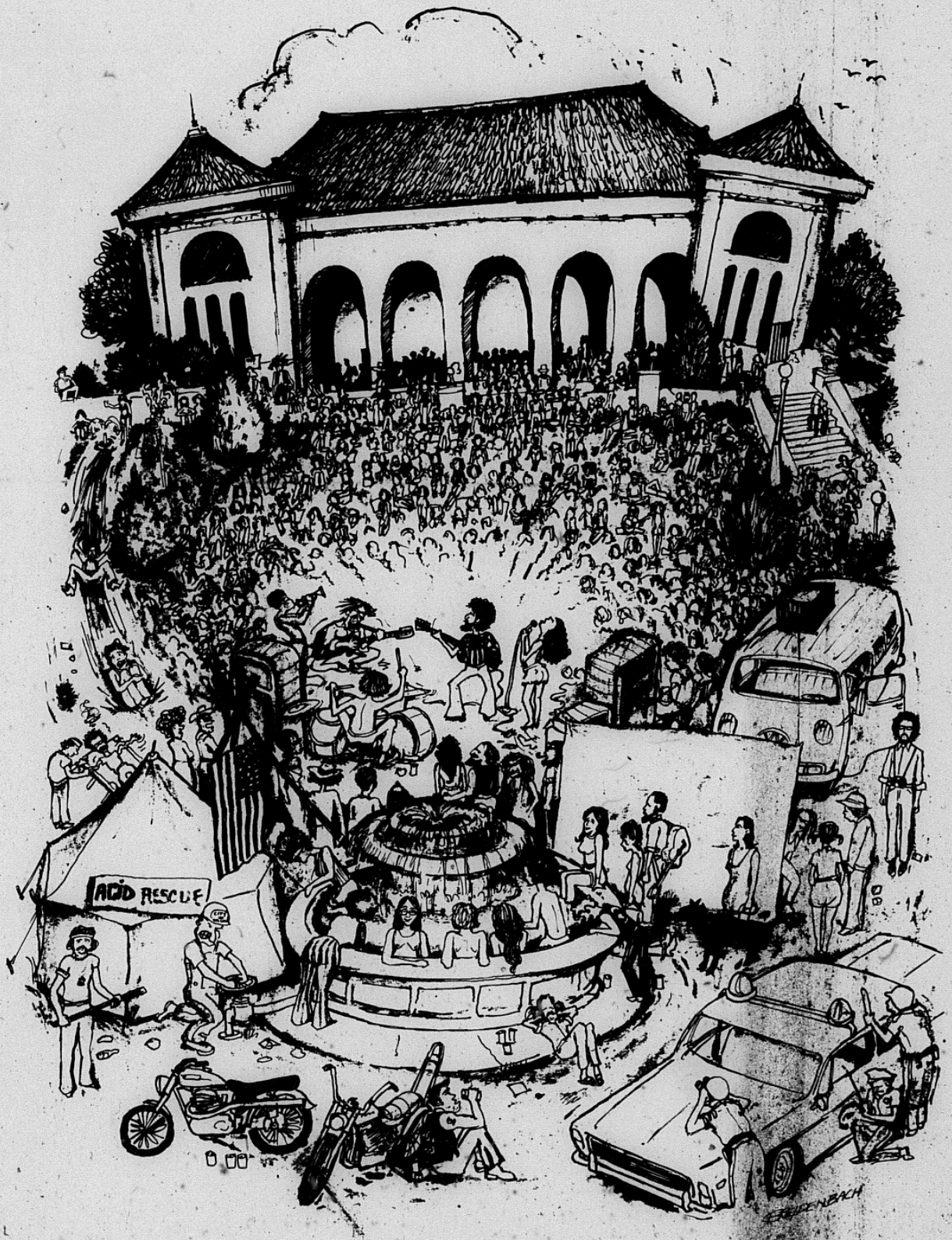

OUTLAW 2

PARK FESTIVAL: Reality Confronts Woodstock Myth

The Outlaws

St. Louis' week long "Festival of Life" was from exciting onset to unhappy conclusion a mixed bag of strange tricks. It was part social protest, part media spoofing put-on, and partially a dream that the myth of Woodstock could become a reality in St. Louis Alternately, it was exciting, silly, tense, and tragic. It ended leaving people with a sense of disappointment and failure. Yet even its weaknesses contain lessons which if taken to heart can give us hope about the future.

The festival had lots of causes.

Part of its impetus was a marked increase in police harassment of the people who spend their weekends at the Worlds Fair Pavilion in Forest Park. For several years the Pavilion has been a place where lots of people – freaks, blacks, greasers, and straights – hang-out to rap, buy and sell dope, and listen to music provided free by local bands like the Rush. Recently, there has been a sharp increase in the number of busts and hassles perpetrated by the police against the park people. These hassles were intensified when Park Commissioner Buckowitz decided to ban music at the Pavilion. He said it bothered the animals in the Zoo. Even if he was honest about his reasons – and his decision to allow a St. Louis Symphony concert inside the Zoo itself indicates he wasn't – his decision reflects an interesting sense of priorities. Evidently even the animals in the Zoo are more important to the city fathers than the people they are supposed to represent. Buckowitz's decision coupled with the police hassles had a lot to do with why the festival took place.

Undoubtedly, a widespread belief in the Woodstock myth was another impetus. The myth, perpetrated by Warner Brothers, big record companies, and "hip" radio stations, is that if enough people can be gathered in one place with enough dope and the right music, all will be peace and love. Lots of area people believed that myth and wanted to make the St. Louis Festival of Life into another Woodstock.

Of course, much of the festival was a skillfully executed put-on of the straight media. "Yippie organizers" of the festival held press conferences and issued releases on their "plans" for the festival calculated to fool the straight press. TV commentators like Chris Condon and Max Roby dutifully gave lengthy accounts of Yippie plans, and radio reports came in every half hour. Unwittingly, the straight press did most of the festival's advertising. Their newsmen were no match for the Yippies. One old Globe editor ran a story on plans for a festival "ball-in" not understanding a word of it. Local readers who did (including several outraged clergymen) called in to complain. Score one more media victory for the Yippies.

But the successes were short lived. After a generally encouraging first two days in which over seven thousand people showed up to see the festival, the

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Louisville's Black 6 Not Guilty of Conspiracy

LIBERATION News Service

LOUISVILLE, Ky. (LNS) – After two long years of legal proceedings, the Black Six of Louisville are free. Charged with "conspiracy to destroy private property" during the uprising in Louisville's West End ghetto in May of 1968, the six militant leaders – Ruth Bryant, Robert Kuyu, Manfred Reid, Pete Cosby, James Cortez, and Sam Hawkins – heard Judge S. Rush Nicholson instruct the jury on July 7 after a nine-day trial to return a "not guilty" verdict. Nicholson's decision was based on the prosecution's complete failure to present any evidence that the Six were ever all together in one place at any time before or during the 1968 rebellion.

The judge's order for a directed verdict brought cries of joy and relief from the defendants and their supporters in the small courtroom. In the 22 months since their original arraignment, the defendants had their trial moved out of Louisville – where the prosecution feared a bias in favor of the defendants – to a small Kentucky town and then back to the bigger city again.

In a press conference held the day of the verdict, Sam Hawkins noted that the Louisville case was the first victory for black leaders around the country fighting conspiracy charges. He expressed the hope that Rap Brown, the New York Panther 21, and the New Haven 9 would be as successful as the Louisville Six. "We are tired," he said, "of having to go into court and defend ourselves against conspiracy charges just because we want to be free. The black people of Louisville will unite around this victory – and help our brothers around the country."

During the 1968 uprising that produced the Black Six case, two black youths, 14 and 19 years old, were killed – one by a white cop with a sawed-off shotgun, and the other by a white merchant. No charges were brought against the two whites.

WHAT'S HAPPENING WITH WOMEN

HERE

---The McPherson Community House is acting as a clearing house for information on the movement until a more permanent center can be established. Call 652-9143.

---The *Underground Woman*, a women's lib newsletter, is the most important thing happening right now in that it reaches new women with what women's lib is all about and is a medium through which local sisters can share their thoughts and ideas on the movement. Women who wish to help in the writing, production or distribution of the paper can contact Lynn Backus, 436-1769, or Patsy O'Connell, 652-2688.

---There is the opportunity of putting on weekly programs at KDNA, but not without some hassles. Women who would be interested in this struggle can contact Carol Hess at 231-4698.

---Through the Radical Women's Speakers Bureau we are trying to work collectively in developing our ideas and politics, and in sharing our speaking experiences. We reached a lot of new women last spring . . . if you would like to be part of this please contact Peggy Hoffman, 721-3447, Gail Pellett, 862-7239, or Sandy Stein, 862-8344.

---Classes on the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of women's liberation are being planned for this fall at Washington U., Forest Park College and perhaps Webster College.

---Literature on women's liberation is available at Left Bank Books, the Peace Center (Delmar), and the NOW office at the YWCA.

---There will be another city-wide organizational meeting sometime in mid-September to bring together previous plans for a center, abortion counselling, day-care facilities, high-school organizing, etc. Watch for this in the *Outlaw* and the *Underground Woman*.

AND AWAY

---There has been a lot of liberal reform in abortion laws . . . but it all remains meaningless within our class structure. Poor and working women still cannot afford it. And the sterilization program offered by Planned Parenthood still smacks of genocide to ghetto women. Genocide itself has become disguised through Zero Population Growth . . . those wealthy pseudo-ecologists who think it's the poor masses who cause pollution . . . not Big Industry and the American Life Style. Liberalized abortion laws are probably due more to the influence of the powerful ZPC'rs than women's lib.

---Canadian women led by the Vancouver Women's Caucus motor caravaned across Canada in May to present their cause to Parliament: FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND. They gathered people along the way and marched through Toronto for more support. "The response we got was overwhelming. People lined up outside their houses and on the streets, giving us V's, fists and waves and shouting encouragement." (Gwen Hauser, *The Pedestal*). They held a rally outside Parliament, presented their brief for free abortion inside, delivered a coffin topped by the tools of a hack abortionist to Prime Minister Trudeau's home, and then climaxed the demonstration with a direct confrontation of Parliament. Demonstrators inside chained themselves to chairs in the galleries and spoke out on abortion. Members of Parliament, shouting "whores" and "sluts," rushed to the galleries to dislodge them, and the speaker adjourned the session.

---While it looks on the surface like women's "rights" are changing, the Labor Dept. figures indicate that the gap between male and female salaries is still growing. The median wage for women has gone from 63.9 per cent of men's to 58.2 per cent in the past ten years. This percentage diminishes even more so when you include all the part-time women workers.

---Perhaps the most interesting struggle for women workers is being waged in the publishing houses in New York. The publishing business has notoriously been an all-woman-shit-workers show governed by a few men. During the past few months 40 women have been fired for a combination of union organizing and women's liberation activities.

"On April 13, members of the Women's Liberation Movement seized the executive offices of Grove Press and demanded that Grove use the profits from its sex-exploitation publications for day-care centers, for bail money to release 100 prisoners a month from the Women's House of Detention and for a fund for divorced and recently widowed women. As a result of the sit-in, 9 women were arrested." (*The Spokeswoman*)

---One group of Berkeley women are forming a revolving collective Coffee House. The house would provide living room for women in the collective to stay for varying lengths of time, crashing room for visiting sisters, and a coffee house through which old and new women can get together. The house would also be used for classes, meetings, etc.

Don't Wait

An enthusiastic crowd eagerly awaits the next issue of the Outlaw. But you don't have to wait. Just send five dollars to Outlaw, c/o KDNA Radio, 4285 Olive, 63108. (Free to GIs)

Revolutionary Black Workers

By George Lipsitz

Working on an assembly line in a big factory is hard dangerous work. Inflation eats up your pay and the work dulls your senses and tries to beat down any concept of self-worth you may have. For black workers, the situation is even worse. Blacks get the jobs that whites don't want to do and get paid even less. They are often harassed by racist foremen and colleagues and are the first people fired whenever there is a recession.

Black workers face all the problems facing white workers and have to deal with racism as well. Even the unions which are supposed to protect the interests of all workers perpetuate the racism faced by black workers. Traditionally both business and labor have exploited blacks, but for the first time there now seems to be a challenge to that attitude.

In Detroit, black workers have joined with black students and community people to build the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, an extra-union caucus operating in the automobile industry. The League is a response to the particular oppression of blacks in factories and threatens the cozy relationship the United Auto Workers has enjoyed with the big three automobile manufacturers. For years the UAW has ignored dissent from both white and black members of the rank and file who felt cheated by the UAW's policies. Now the League has channeled some of that dissent into an effective organization.

The strength of the League comes from the fact that it is dealing with the real problems of its members while the UAW plays games with management. It was started when a group of black workers at the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck began talking to each other about what it meant to be a black worker. Disgusted with conditions for the many blacks in the plant, they organized a one-day strike to dramatize their grievances. Their picket line was honored by almost all the black workers, seventy per cent of the work force at Dodge Main, and the movement was born.

Caucuses sprang up at the Ford Rouge plant, Chrysler's Eldon Avenue plant, and other factories in the Detroit area. By developing support in the black community, in the high schools, in the streets, and on the job, the League has developed a sense of its own power and has been able to begin to move on some of the immediate ways in which blacks are oppressed in this society.

The League is seen as a threat by both management and some of the bureaucrats in the United Auto Workers union. Management is correct: the League understands the ways in which the big corporations have used the blacks, given them the worst jobs, and fired them before they could get any seniority. And because of that understanding, the League is working not just for better contracts or paper benefits, but for control of the means of production by the workers.

The UAW bureaucrats are afraid of precisely that analysis. For years they've been telling their workers that management and labor have had the same interests and that there was no basic conflict. The UAW has dedicated itself to industrial peace: no slowdowns, no wildcat walkoffs, in short no trouble. Industry has responded by paying reasonably high wages and benefits, but it has encouraged speed-ups and dangerous working conditions. The UAW's ability to get good contracts has been dependent upon allowing working conditions to deteriorate. Last year when Walter Reuther allowed part of the cost of living clause to be bargained away it cost every worker 26 cents an hour. This has brought to a boil the frustration which has been simmering for years in the UAW. The union suppressed all dissent and gave away any chance for improving job conditions, all in the name of industrial peace. Now that even the wage and fringe benefits are beginning to fall apart, rank and file militancy is such that a strike is almost definite for the fall. The UAW has built a $130,000,000 strike fund and it is hard to imagine any contract settlement which could be reached without a strike and which would satisfy the rank and file.

It seems obvious that much of the direction of the militance of that strike will come from the League because it is the best organized group in the UAW and because it has a political analysis as to why conditions are bad for workers. The League has organized blacks because they have particular problems which the UAW has ignored, but they have always made it clear that the League regarded management as the enemy and not the white worker. As one member of the League's Central Committee puts it:

> "Well you see, black and white workers work side by side on the line. And it's clear to black workers you know, that the enemy is the boss; is management in the plant. But it's not always clear to the white worker that his enemy is management."

The League has broadened its organization from the plant level to work in the community. It has focused on housing and welfare, schools, and building political groups to begin controlling the destiny of Detroit. But the League understands that its real power comes from the importance of blacks in production. The Eldon Avenue Chrysler plant is the only gear and axle factory in Chrysler's whole system. If Eldon is shut down, no Chryslers can be made anywhere. The workers at Eldon Avenue are 90 per cent black. The tank Arsenal which makes the majority of the tanks for the U.S. Army is located in Detroit and most of the workers at that installation are black.

Throughout the automobile industry blacks are employed at critical jobs which no whites will do and which have been left for the large unskilled black work force. In the past, those blacks have been powerless and at the mercy of the union and the company. But the emergence of the League has made those blacks a very powerful force indeed, as well as an example to other workers throughout the country.

Why Black Workers Organize

From the Guardian

Anybody who thinks workers are bought off with color television and two cars hasn't worked on an auto assembly line lately.

You can make maybe $130 a week on the line. But you'll bust your ass doing it. Compulsory overtime is as certain as model changeover layoffs.

And if you're black, it's three times worse.

Rose Logan, a black woman, worked in Dept. 25 of Chrysler's Eldon Avenue plant in Detroit. She was run down by a forklift driven by a white man. The company doctor gave her a quick examination and sent her back to Dept. 25. Rose Logan finished out her shift, then went home.

A few weeks later she died from her injuries.

There is more. Injuries, racism, and wanton firings occur every day in every plant. The following is a review of some instances:

One Friday night, Curtis Lee, a black man, was crossing the street in front of the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck when he was hit by a car and thrown 100 feet. Plant guards refused to help, saying that they did not know if the bleeding man in the street was a Dodge employee. Black workers went to his aid, but Hamtramck police told them to "move along." When Lee finally got to the hospital, he was in critical condition from internal injuries, a fractured skull, three broken ribs, a broken arm and two broken legs.

These are individual manifestations of general company and union policy.

To get the broader picture, it helps to know that Ford, for example, fires about 600 black workers a week, who then hire on at other auto companies to be fired again. This gives the companies a revolving pool of desperate workers. It also allows Ford to replace the 600 with 200-300 new workers, thereby doubling and tripling the workload on those who are left. The 600 discharged workers usually are fired on their 89th day of employment, one day short of gaining seniority. Meanwhile the United Auto Workers has already taken out its $20 initiation fee and three months dues ($7 a month). This means the UAW is getting at least $30,000 a year in all plants from 89 day-and-goodbye black workers.

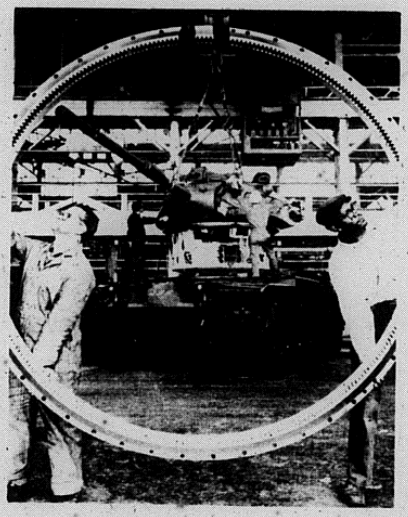
On top of that, Ford and other companies collect poverty program money for training "hard core" people, parolees, and welfare mothers. They are told to do the job or have their parole revoked or welfare cut off.

Until recently, the only acceptable excuse for absence was a doctor's note saying the worker was ill and under treatment. Black workers needed two notes. This policy has been changed somewhat: Ford no longer accepts notes from black doctors.

Chuch Wooten, one of the founders of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement who was fired from Dodge Main, worked in the body shop there, making components for Dodge Chargers. He had to assemble three pieces of stock and do 24 spotwelds. "Now most of the metal in the body shop is very sharp and gloves

are hard to get, you understand," he said. "See what it is, foremen get a bonus for the less safety equipment they have to use, such as gloves and aprons, and if you've got a foreman that's profit-conscious, you're gonna have hell getting gloves."

In the four years Wooten worked at Dodge Main, he saw the assembly line chain break at least 15 times. This is the chain that propels cars on dollies down the line in somewhat the manner that a carwash chain works. When the chain breaks, the force hurls the dollies together at 60-80 miles an hour. Many workers labor in the foot and a half space between the dollies. Last time the chain broke, a foreman was caught between dollies. Both his legs were cut off below the knees. And so on.



Mizzou Compromise Rejected

By Jon Cohen

The University of Missouri in Columbia has temporarily resolved the crisis it has been facing since the campus was rocked with demonstrations protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in May. Eleven faculty members who dismissed classes May 4 have been disciplined in one way or another: seven were docked a day's pay, one was reprimanded, one was docked two days pay, and two part-time instructors were dismissed. However, the problems raised by the controversy remain very much alive.

The punitive actions taken against the faculty members are merely the latest examples of the consistent pattern of repression which has been a hallmark of the university for years. In the 1940's the Columbia campus was placed on the American Association of University Professors' censure list, and more recently a student-faculty fact finding committee found that a professor with excellent academic credentials was economically starved out of the school because he was an avowed socialist. In addition, the past years have seen struggles over free speech, academic freedom, and intervisitation, the results of which have been invariably repressive.

Two years ago, a student was shot three times by a Columbia policeman because he had swiped his hat during a panty raid. In the spring of 1969, a free speech fight was caused by the arrest of four students on obscenity charges. They were selling an issue of the Columbia Free Press which contained a widely published cartoon of a policeman raping the Statue of Liberty. Following the arrests, that issue of the Free Press was banned from the campus, and shortly thereafter SDS was banned from campus for the remainder of the academic year even though a faculty-student fact finding committee found no justification for that action.

The recent anti-war activity at Columbia was touched off by the invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent State. The mood was tense as crowds milled around the campus wanting to do something but unable to turn their feelings into concrete action. The tension was heightened by the arrest of a former student near the ROTC building after a warning shot was fired by a campus policeman who suspected him of writing "Ohio Blood" on the sidewalk. Later, a molotov cocktail slightly damaged the ROTC building and rumors of suspensions and expulsions circulated as tension continued to build.

A strike was called for May 7 and 8. It was supported by many students and faculty and was endorsed by the sociology department. A rally on the evening of May 6 featured many speakers in favor of a strike, including several faculty members who urged that the demonstrations remain peaceful. Many classes were cancelled and others met informally in support of the strike, and were replaced by workshops and discussions about the war and repression.

Chancellor Schwada became a focal point of attention as groups of people followed him around asking him to make a statement about the war. Schwada declined to do so, claiming he was protecting the neutrality of the university, although that did not stop the Chairman of the Board of Curators from sending a letter to President Nixon praising the invasion of Cambodia.

On Monday morning, May 11, a crowd gathered on the steps of Jesse Hall to present demands to the Chancellor which called for amnesty for all people engaged in peaceful activity, class attendance options and most important, for the Chancellor to come out and speak to the crowd.

Instead of negotiating with the people, the Chancellor locked the doors of Jesse Hall and sent the Dean of students to announce a set of "emergency regulations" including the banning of assemblies of more than three people, the closing of the campus to visitors, and the banning of electric sound equipment (bullhorns). The crowd remained, singing and chanting, and after thirty minutes Schwada ordered the arrest of thirty-two people including Bill Wickersham, a professor of Parks and Recreation. Those arrested were turned over to the Highway Patrol who apologized to them for the arrests and turned them loose. They returned to the rally and Wickersham dispersed the crowd after Schwada agreed to negotiate with faculty and students.

After 13 hours of negotiations between students, faculty members, and the administration, an agreement was reached and announced on May 13. The agreement called for amnesty for all students involved in peaceful activities, for the Faculty Council to represent any faculty members accused of dismissing classes during the strike, urged all teachers to resume normal operations, re-asserted the right of peaceful non-disruptive assembly, and provided for class attendance options.

What the agreement meant was that in return for ending the strike and stopping demonstrations, the students and faculty could exercise their first amendment rights and the faculty could make use of prerogatives they already had. The student reaction to the agreement was surprisingly passive in view of the fact that nothing was gained from it. The faculty was predictably happy as they succeeded in pacifying the students and putting an end to the strike, without giving up any of their privileges.

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We Must Free Lonnie McLucas

They are trying to kill Lonnie McLucas. Lonnie, a member of the Black Panther Party, goes on trial in Connecticut this month charged with the first degree murder of Alex Rackley, who was also a member of the Party. The police claim that Rackley was a police informant who was killed by Lonnie McLucas and eight other Panthers, including party chairman Bobby Seale. If Lonnie is convicted, the state will have taken a giant step toward sending all nine of the Panthers to death in the electric chair as part of the continuing repression of that group.

The Panthers charge that it was the police who murdered Rackley, and that the nine party members charged with murder are being framed for political reasons just as Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, and hundreds of others have been framed on phony charges and railroaded to jail by the branch of the government inappropriately named the Justice Department. The evidence indicates that the Panthers are telling the truth, but when a black man goes on trial in America, the truth rarely seems to be important.

The day that Rackley was murdered, Bobby Seale was not even in the state of Connecticut, and Lonnie McLucas and the other Panthers were conducting a community-wide search for Diane Toney, a 12 year old black girl from New Haven who disappeared and was never found, but it is clear that the Government is more concerned with silencing the Panthers than finding out the truth.

During the past year that Lonnie has been in jail, the prison officials and guards have done everything they can to break his spirit, but they have failed because he understands that he has been picked by the state because he has been a true revolutionary, serving the interests of the people rather than of the system.

Lonnie was born in 1945 in Wade, North Carolina. In describing his early life, Lonnie says, "My father used to work all day behind two mules, from sun-up to sun-down and then work half the night at a sawmill. At 25 cents an hour, there were lots of times when my father, working two jobs, could not make five dollars in 24 hours. There were a lot of times when there was no food at home."

According to his mother, "Lonnie was known as one of the best kids in Wade. He was always a leader. He was in the Boys Club and the Boy Scouts." As Lonnie puts it, "People were always coming to me with their problems, and for them to do this was like food for me, because this was and still is what I want to do more than anything else: serve the people."

After quitting school, Lonnie moved to New York where he first encountered the Black Panther Party. One day while walking through a park, he stopped and listened at a Panther rally. "It suddenly came to me that here was something I could really believe in. Something I could put all of my life and soul into."

Three months after joining the Party, Lonnie was sent to Morristown, New Jersey, to help organize a Panther chapter there. When police harassment closed down the office and forced the Panthers to leave Morristown, Lonnie stated that, "The police department gave us so much trouble that in order for us to serve the people of that town we would have had to resort to violence, and one thing that the Black Panther Party has never done is advocate violence toward anyone!"

After much harassment, Lonnie and another Party member went to Oakland, California, where Lonnie's advanced political education began. "We would go out to the community everyday talking to the people, selling the Party paper, and attending political education classes led by Bobby Seale or David Hilliard. We were required to learn every function of each office in the party. Every day we had a different office to work in. One day we ran the distribution department, the next day we would be out selling papers and talking to the people in the community."

Lonnie was made Connecticut State Area Captain of the Panther Party. He set up an office in Bridgeport where he organized a demonstration to protest the death of 11 people in a Bridgeport tenement fire caused by illegal housing conditions. He fought police brutality, and spread the message of the Panthers wherever he went.

In the spring, he moved to New Haven where he joined with Erika Huggins to begin to build the New Haven Panther Chapter. They began collecting money to build a free breakfast for children program, and while conducting a community search for a lost girl were arrested and charged with the murder of Alex Rackley.

At this point, the police are relying on the testimony of George Sams, a police agent and former mental patient who infiltrated the party, and Warren Kimbrough, a Party member who was frightened into pleading guilty by the police who said he would be killed if he didn't. The other Panthers have all resisted that kind of pressure. At one point, the police offered immunity to Frances Carter, one of the accused Panthers in the hopes of spreading suspicion that she was also an informer. However, the Panthers didn't panic and when Frances Carter was called to testify against the other Panthers, she refused to do so even though she was jailed indefinitely for alleged contempt of court.

But while the government's efforts to break the Panthers' spirits have failed, they may succeed in executing them. Previously, Panthers have been murdered with the tacit approval of the law; now they are going to be murdered by sanction of the law by means of phony frame-ups like this one.

There is no way to separate Lonnie McLucas's fate from that of the liberation struggle of all black people, or from the struggle of all people to overthrow the monstrous murdering system we live under. Lonnie McLucas has dedicated his life to the struggle, to working with people. Because he did his job so well, the state came down on him as well as on the rest of the party.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that we are going to have to make it impossible for the government to concentrate its repression on people like Lonnie McLucas and Bobby Seale. If they can take the life of Lonnie with impunity, if they can do it without having to think twice, clearly they will. The time has come to make them think twice.

Compiled from movement papers.

Alex Rackley (left) was murdered last year in Connecticut.

The Defense Department is stockpiling three million pounds of feathers worth 12 million dollars.

Senator Stephen Young reports "20,000 bags of feathers, mostly goose feathers, are bagged in fifty pound bags in defense depots and warehouses in hush-hush locations throughout the country along with 100,000 bags of down."

A Pentagon official explained the ticklish situation, "It's important that they be spread out in separate locations. If the Chinese were to launch a nuclear attack on our main warehouses, we might lose all our feathers."

A Vietnam-bound Navy destroyer has been sidelined from action for two months by what the Navy suspects was sabotage. Three sailors are being held.

"Something was added to the gears" which knocked out one of the two engines of the destroyer Richard B. Anderson as it began to steam from port for Vietnam May 27, a Navy spokesman said.

Breakthrough Housing Bad Break For St. Louis

By George Lipsitz

Mayor Alfonso Cervantes has announced that St. Louis will be one of ten cities participating in "Operation Breakthrough," a government sponsored program to build more low and middle income housing in cities throughout the country. On the surface this program seems like a good idea because there aren't enough cheap places for people to live. However, when you look at it closely, "Breakthrough" turns out to be just another phony government program that big corporations benefit from, but that working people pay for.

"Breakthrough" calls for subsidies to build pre-fabricated houses and to place them on land which the city will agree not to tax for forty years. The rationale behind this is that a housing shortage exists because there's not enough profit in building for private business, and that a government subsidy will encourage businesses to build houses which everyone can then benefit from. In reality, it is a way to give money to big corporations at the expense of the workers.

The pre-fabricated houses will be built in factories by assembly line labor. This means that the construction workers who now build buildings will have no work to do on the houses, except for minor adjustments once the buildings are already constructed. This will cut down the cost of labor for the corporations and will force workers to accept lower wages for the fewer jobs which remain.

In addition, the buildings will be placed on tax-free land which will indirectly be paid for by everyone in the city who pays taxes. Every piece of property that isn't taxed is getting a free ride at the taxpayer's expense. The money that would otherwise go to the city from that land has to be made up by other taxes.

Proponents of the Breakthrough plan concede that it is a good deal for the building and contracting corporations involved; they argue that it is the only way to get houses built in this city. Given the motives of most businesses, that is probably correct. But given the motives behind most businesses it is morally uplifting to starve to death. St. Louis does need new houses, but not a few "showplaces" which are only gold mines for the people who build them and burdens for everybody else.

With all the houses that need to be built, with all the schools and hospitals that are falling apart, the government could undertake a building program so massive that it would create new jobs and fill society's needs for better facilities. Instead of forking over huge sums of money to corporations like U.S. Steel who have an interest in building pre-fabricated housing, the government could tax the huge profits those companies make and use them for the public good by the kind of building program which would create many decent paying jobs for construction which is badly needed. While that would upset the cozy deal that rich contractors now have by profiting off the shortage of buildings, it would benefit the majority of the people.

Is there a chance for such a massive building program? Not on your life. Our economic system depends on profits for a few, not on benefit for the many. It says that it is better for people to lack food, clothing, and shelter because that is profitable for the few who control the wealth. Thus, whenever the government launches one of these programs, all it does is pit the interests of the workers against the interests of the people who need houses. It tries to make people fight each other over the crumbs while big corporations have all the wealth in this country.

When we talk about changing the system, we mean changing a situation like this where there is enough wealth to go around but where a few peoples' greed causes most of us to live poorly, frantically trying to get the things like decent housing which should be ours as a matter of course. Making that kind of a change is the kind of a breakthrough that we really need.

Write On

JUST LIKE PIGS

Dear Outlaws:

I read the letters to you from Eddie Hadas and Alfhild Larson and I agree with both of them. I also think your treatment of Hadas's letter was very pig like. You evidently find it quite difficult to accept criticism.

I support your paper primarily because there is little else in St. Louis worth supporting. But sometimes as I'm going through one of your issues and reading the articles I think God, this is a lot of shit. Are these people really that ignorant?

You project yourselves to be a smug band of freaks who think they're better than anyone else (just like pigs) and who assume they're right any anyone who disagrees isn't (just like pigs). I don't know where the "revolution" is going but I do know that if there is to be a change for the better in this society there must be more people working for it. You, like Spiro Agnew must watch whose toes you step on because you can't make it alone.

If you're going to publish a decent newspaper you must try a little harder to see the other side. You cannot become so far removed from your opponent that you can no longer see his viewpoint and still be rational in your thinking.

Of course, I would never want you not to write what you feel but sometimes I think what you feel isn't worth writing about. Even so, thank you for trying because that is better than what most of us are doing.

Sincerely,
Julie Watson

LET'S DREAM

To whom this may concern; or
To each and every American;

It looks like the President of this poor messed up country can fight anyone. That's my deduction and I think I'm backed by most of younger Americans that are concerned with all these wars we don't belong in.

I can see his point of view and position. I feel that if he really believes we belong in there he will lead the troops into battle, and be on the front lines fighting side by side with our sons. I know that a lot of people will say we need him here as our leader, but I think he's doing a very poor job of it.

Please stop this country from tearing itself apart. It makes no difference what politics, age, race or religion; we should all have the same concern. That is to establish better relations amongst us.

Our brothers and sisters are not only being killed across the sea in "war," but right here at home. The President might as well take up arms and fire because indirectly he is a killer.

I have a question to ask; whatever became of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. That is supposedly insurance to each citizen that he is created equal. We the children of the United States have these things drilled into our brains. Everyone wonders why we protest. Have they forgotten what it means or do they really care?

Please listen: let's all join together and put an end to all these disagreements and fighting. Peace may be only a dream, but let's join together and all dream. Most of all appreciate what you have now!

Sincerely,
Rosemary Washburn

Ex-Wobblie Still An Outlaw

By Tom Scribner

Gee Whiz Two (Army Intelligence) had just called me back into service on account of I was in the army 45 years ago, and having been a lumberjack for fifty years they figured I would understand jungle warfare and would be just the cookie for Vietnam.

I understand jungle warfare all right, because I well remember one time in the early '20's when a bunch of us Wobblies (members of the Industrial Workers of the World) hit the jungles under the bridge in Fargo, North Dakota, that was occupied by a lot of "Big Hoosiers" – not necessarily from Indiana. These Big Hoosiers didn't like us Wobblies because we were "Reds," so there was hell to pay for a while, but when the dust settled the big hoosiers were gone and the "Wise Guys" (Wobblies) had the jungles. Yessir! I knew about jugle fighting all right!

So now, the column winds its way through the brush over in Vietnam and I have a big blue arm band on to identify me as a member of Army Gee Whiz Two. We are just now entering a village in a clearing where the natives are making bricks, tending crops and clearing land.

The lieutenant halts the column and asks "Who's in charge here?" A man who is making bricks steps up and says "I am the mayor here, so what's on your mind?" "Well," says the looie, "we are supposed to find out if you have any communists here, and if you do, we're supposed to burn the village and take you to a strategic hamlet where you can live in peace. Then we're supposed to find the former owners of this land, bring them back here and restore freedom to you again."

The mayor takes a deep breath and says: "Why don't you go back home and burn New York down as I hear they have communists there too; you can always make a strategic hamlet out of Yonkers unless they have communists there too. As to finding the former owners of this land and restoring 'freedom' to us again, no thanks, we have had enough freedom if that's what you call it."

The looie calls the platoon to attention and gives orders to burn the village, but then the brush comes alive and suddenly we find ourselves surrounded by Viet Cong!

They are armed with old French muskets and I don't like the smell of things. The Mayor says "All right, Mr. Looie, take your platoon to hell out of here, but lay those tommy guns down first as we need them in our business here." One of the Viet Cong hollers, "Hey Chief, lookit that guy with the blue armband on, he is REALLY a big hoosier!"

This leads me to believe I am on the wrong side in this hassle!

Some of the tactics during the depression – I think some people would frown on them today. For instance, we'd have a mock raid on a chain store. We had 50 people who were committed and believed in it who would volunteer to stage a first raid and maybe get thrown in jail. So these people would go and hit a Purity store.

Here's the picture – they're in there helping themselves to the groceries – and in those days they didn't have carts, just baskets – we called these things basket brigades. We'd load up with groceries, go right past the checkers and out the door. The checkers'd holler: "Hey you guys! Who's gonna pay for all that?"

So we'd holler back: "Just charge it to the State or the Federal Government or the city! We're unemployed, we're hungry, and our families are starving, and we ARE gonna eat!!!" Then there goes the phone call to the police.

Tom Scribner

"When you work as a lumberjack, you make all the lumber, but the boss makes all the money," says Tom Scribner, and he should know. He worked for over fifty years in the lumber mills of the Northwest, and he spent that whole time fighting for better working conditions and for a better world.

"The original revolt was led by the IWW – the Industrial Workers of the World – one of the earliest ones. I got into that in 1914. Well, we knew right off hand that there was absolutely no hope from the AF of L – not for mass production workers."

The IWW stressed on the job actions; sit down strikes, walk-offs etc., and workers like Tom Scribner eventually forced better conditions in industry, but the big problems still weren't solved. In the thirties, he joined the Communist Party which "was good in the thirties – perfect up until 1936. Then it began to compromise. Down the drain. It really is down the drain today."

Tom is now retired because the lumber companies won't hire a man his age, but he has never retired from the movement. He tries to augment his small income from social security by playing the musical saw at concerts, an instrument which he learned when he was in the logging camps and a good way to reach people in order to talk to them about politics.

We are proud to have Tom's columns appearing in the Outlaw. As the San Jose Maverick said in describing him, "Tom is . . . a revolutionary who hasn't become tired out, a man who with every year stays young and stays determined to keep on fighting for what he believes in – the working people and the poor."

W.U. Warms Up For Fall

By Devereaux Kennedy

This is purported to be an account of the court hearing resulting in the issuance of a permanent injunction against militant demonstrations on the troubled Washington University campus. After reading it we're not sure whether it's about a trial or a baseball game. Kennedy says that after sitting through the hearing, he's not sure either.

In a pre-season meeting at the Clayton Courthouse, Umpire George Schaaf laid down stiff new ground rules for the expected fall renewal of last spring's conflict between anti-ROTC forces and the Washington University Corporation.

Schaaf, who proved last spring that he can be a tough ump when he wants to be, issued a permanent injunction against damage to personal or physical property as well as deliberate blocking of access to the playing field. Schaaf also warned the anti-ROTC forces against yelling fire in a crowded theater – an apparent reference to last spring's pre-game rallies in Holmes Lounge.

In other developments, Schaaf ordered the anti-ROTC forces to remove the names of veterans Ben Zaricor and Devereaux Kennedy from their starting line-ups. Both men were released without prejudice. Defensive ace Steve Graham was kept on for another season. That cut the number of acknowledged first stringers on the anti-ROTC team down to twelve.

The Washington U. Corporation showed continued confidence in their club by renewing the contracts of Trudi "the tigress' Spigel, "jumpin" John Duvall and Ed "roughy" Rollins – all key figures on last year's losing team. Corporation manager, terrible Tom Eliot, claimed in a message to his cheerleaders, the W.U. faculty, that the recently issued court injunction will put his team back in the ballgame next fall despite last year's dismal showing.

Anti-ROTC forces, however, are confident that their strong hitting can handle the Eliot team despite the court injunction.

After handing down the permanent injunction, Umpire Schaaf, who issued a number of contempt of the ump rulings aginst anti-ROTC forces last spring, continued his criticisms of the team's rough tactics. He singled out their legal advisers as partially responsible for the roughness. "Those guys are just blowing smoke up their ass," he complained. Schaaf, known for his leniency before last year's strong penalties, summarized his umpiring philosophy this way:

"There once was a lady who wanted to have her mule trained. She took the mule to the best trainer in the country. When she and the mule got there the trainer took a club and hit the mule right square in the ass as hard as he could. The lady was mad as hell. 'I thought you were the best mule trainer in the country' she cried. 'I am, but I get to get 'em to listen to me first'."

That goes both ways, judge.

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The cover for this issue was done by Don Breidenbach.

Bill To Ban Bill Of Rights

By Devereaux Kennedy

The Justice Department's current investigation of local anti-ROTC activity (which has already resulted in six indictments, two for sabotage) takes on an even more sinister visage when viewed within the context of federal legislation currently being pushed through the Congress

Sabotage indictments issued against Napoleon Bland and Joel Achtenberg charge them with destruction of war materiel and a war facility during a time of national emergency declared by the President of the United States. The "state of national emergency" was declared by Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 and the Justice Department contends that it is still in effect. If this contention is upheld by the courts, and the Bland-Achtenberg trials will be the test cases, the spectre of law by emergency decree will hang over the country.

That spectre will be considerably broadened if The Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act becomes law. The act, already passed by the House of Representatives and currently being considered in the Senate, would empower the Secretary of Defense to designate areas of commerce, industry and "other public places" as essential to the national defense. If the act is made law and convictions of Bland or Achtenberg are handed down and upheld by the courts, it will mean that willful property damage to all sites designated as essential to the national defense will be defined as sabotage. Sabotage is punishable by thirty years in jail and a ten thousand dollar fine.

The Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act also empowers the Secretary of Defense to deny employment or even access to designated areas by "security risks" or "subversives." Subversives and security risks will be identified through massive investigations of anyone who might at sometime be in contact with areas designated as important to national defense. The act authorizes the President to make such investigations.

Other more mysterious aspects of the government's ongoing investigation into local anti-ROTC activity become more comprehensible if one looks carefully at the Nixon backed Organized Crime Control Bill. The bill has already passed the Senate (with one dessenting vote, Senator Metcalf's) and is currently before the House Judiciary Committee. It contains the following provisions, among others:

1. Reluctant witnesses (those that take the fifth amendment) could be offered a new selected form of immunity and then forced to testify or go to jail indefinitely without trial. They will be immune only from evidence obtained from them involuntarily, not from all prosecution as is presently the case when immunity is offered. Even this new limited immunity will be revoked after five years.
2. A new vaguely defined catagory of dangerous special offender will be created. Included will be anyone "whose felony offense was part of a pattern of criminal conduct which constituted a substantial source of his income and in which he manifested special skill or expertise." It would also include anyone "whose felony offense was in the furtherance of a conspiracy in which he would employ a leadership position or employ force." Such dangerous special-offenders would be subject to sentences of up to thirty years in jail.
3. The bill would void a recent Supreme Court ruling requiring the government to hand over to the defense all results of electronic surveillance conducted against the defendant.

Last March, local U.S. Attorney Daniel Bartlett convened a federal grand jury to investigate anti-ROTC activities at Washington University. Over fifty witnesses were called (twelve twice), many took the fifth amendment. No witnesses were offered immunity and no indictments were ever issued, a fact which surprised many observers. It now seems possible that the Justice Department decided to forestall any indictments until the Organized Crime Control Bill becomes law. The law will give the government several new tools with which to attack individuals they consider to be leaders of the local radical movement. They will be able to force radical leaders to testify without losing the opportunity to prosecute them. The dangerous special offender provision will give the government the opportunity to lock up radical leaders for thirty years! And they will not be forced to reveal the results of widespread electronic surveillance by the FBI.

It is also possible that the St. Louis grand jury hearings and others like it are currently being used as lobbying tools to convince anti-communist legislators with civil libertarian scrupples to vote for the Crime Control Bill in the interest of national security. Certainly if the bill passes, as now seems likely, future grand jury investigations will produce numerous indictments against movement leaders (not to mention indefinite jail terms for those who refuse the newly limited immunity).

The sabotage indictments, the legislative progress of both The Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act, and The Organized Crime Control Bill, continue with little media attention and almost no public notice. While liberals spend their time and money fighting for meaningless "end the war" amendments which end nothing, the government moves quietly, efficiently, and very legally towards fascism. If you open your eyes, you don't have to be a weatherman to know which way the wind is blowing.

C.O.: A Way To Beat The Numbers Game

By Roz Leiser

Finding a politically acceptable way of dealing with the draft for those people who consider themselves radical is nearly impossible. There are five basic alternatives – accepting a deferment from your draft board if you are able to get one; refusing induction and risking a jail sentence; leaving the country; going underground or going into the military and trying to organize. Each has its own set of advantages and disadvantages, from both the personal and political viewpoints.

Accepting a deferment or exemption, such as one for medical or hardship reasons, or a conscientious objector classification, means co-operating with the Selective Service System – in the case of C.O., justifying yourself to them. However, accepting a deferment carries the least personal risk and leaves you free to work politically. Resistance, although probably the most personally conscience-salving, may mean putting yourself out of circulation and therefore political effectiveness for up to five years. Although resistance sometimes serves the purpose of heightening political consciousness, it also means co-operating with the court system. Leaving the country means of course a loss of effectiveness in the struggle here. Going underground runs its own obvious risks, although if you think you can do it, it may be the most politically pure. Organizing in the military is risking death or lengthy imprisonment but again if you can do it, it is very important.

In this article, I would like to discuss the possibilities that men have of getting C.O. classifications, as well as the implications of this position. In future articles, other kinds of deferments and the other

alternatives mentioned above will be discussed.

There is no truth to the myth that no one gets C.O. status anymore. Experience has shown that over 50 per cent of men who get good counseling and work hard on their C.O. claim get them. The Selective Service law states that anyone who "by religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form" shall be excused from military service and instead spend two years doing civilian alternate service, or if he is willing, serving in the army as a noncombatant, usually a medic. At present, the law only defines religious belief negatively, as excluding "essentially political, sociological or philosophical views, or as merely personal moral code." Since it is very difficult to differentiate between these, word connotations become important.

Almost any belief a man holds which would prevent him from entering the military can be viewed as religious. Since most such beliefs (e.g. a belief in man's basic right to dignity, a belief in the essential goodness of man, etc.) cannot be proved, they are accepted on faith by men who believe them. A Supreme Court decision (Seeger v. the U.S.) several years ago, ruled that any belief which plays the role in a persons's life that a religious belief plays in the life of a person who holds that, is grounds for a C.O. Therefore, a belief which plays the role in a person's life that a religious belief plays in the life of a person who holds that, is grounds for a C.O. Therefore, a belief which is held on faith and which determines what a man's actions must be, qualifies under the law as religious.

Many men don't apply for C.O. status because they think you have to be a member of a church and a

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complete pacifist. As I have already said, the first is untrue. Also, a man can be a C.O. even if he believes in personal self-defense, or the use of violence in certain circumstances. The question is whether or not he would participate in war. Even if a man thinks he would have fought in World War II, he can be a C.O. since the relevant question is future rather than past wars.

Last month, the Supreme Court ruled that C.O. claims could be based on non-religious beliefs. Curtis Tarr, head of the Selective Slavery System has said that such beliefs must be based on "rigorous external training," and that in judging a C.O. claim, boards should put emphasis on the training, rather than the belief. It is hard to tell how this decision will affect things, but as far as I can see, the best thing to do is still try to qualify as though this decision had not been made, since draft boards are always a little slow in catching on to anything new. If a man does not feel he can or wants to qualify under the loose sense of religious beliefs, this decision does offer hope for non-religious objectors.

If you are thinking about filing C.O. you should ask yourself these questions: What, if any, kind of war would you participate in? Is this war likely to happen [hints: 1) No one is drafted into a revolutionary army, therefore revolution does not necessarily fall into the same category as Vietnam and other wars likely to be fought by the U.S. military. 2) The U.S. is not likely to be invaded in anything short of a nuclear war]? If it is likely, is it likely to lead to nuclear war, and is anything worth the risk of nuclear war?

Bear in mind that a conscientious objector need only be opposed to wars that he is likely to be called upon to fight in. Thus the Supreme Court ruled that Jehovah's Witnesses, who could fight only in the war of Armageddon, can be C.O.s, since the war of Armageddon isn't likely to happen, and if it does, the U.S. army won't be drafting people to fight in it. The key point about being opposed to war, rather than all use of violence, is that in war you are ordered to kill and are not free to refuse that order, whereas in other situations the choice of what merits killing is always your own.

A few words on procedure. First of all, many men who do not file for C.O. at the age of 18 believe that it is then too late. This is not true. If you do file at age 18, your chances are excellent. However, any time until you get an induction notice, you are still eligible and can get a C.O. Usually men explain to their draft boards that the reason they did not file at 18, if this is the case, is that their beliefs have recently crystallized or changed, or that they did not know, at 18, that their beliefs qualified them for C.O.

When you request the C.O. application from your draft board, you then have 30 days to return it. The form has four questions, dealing with the nature of your belief, your religious training (any event which influenced your present feeling is religious training), evidence of what you believe in public or private (this can include conversations, letters, peace marches, etc.) and the question of become a medic.

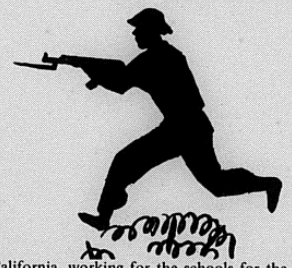
Most boards will try to get a man who files C.O. to accept a 1-A-O (noncombatant in the military) status, usually as a medic. Some men believe that as medics they will be performing a humane function. The Army Medical Service's mission is not to save lives, but "to contribute their utmost to the success of the command of which the medical service is a part." (Army Field Manual 8-10). Medics must treat less seriously wounded soldiers first, since they are more likely to be able to return to combat; they must treat any soldier before a civilian; they free someone else to fight, are subject to military discipline, aid the war effort, and their death rate is 4 out of 7, as they serve on the front lines unarmed (regular combat mortality rates in Vietnam have been 1 out of 7).

You should not try to fill out the C.O. application without the help of a draft counselor and the Handbook for Conscientious Objectors. Draft counseling is available at several places in St. Louis, including Washington University in Rm. No. 1 Umrath (Student Union) (VO 3-0100 ext. 4682) daily from 1-4 p.m., and the American Friends Service Committee, on DeBaliviere near Westminister. These places are free and open to everyone.

One other misconception that many men have is that they must have references from priests in order to get a C.O. Good reference letters (not necessarily from clergy) do help, but they are the least important part of the claim.

Aside from what you write on the form, the crucial factor in most C.O. cases is the personal appearance before the draft board. Here, again, a draft counselor can prepare you for the questions you will probably have to answer.

If you do get C.O. status, and your lottery number is reached, you will have to do two years of alternate service in a civilian job. You have a certain amount of time to find jobs that your draft board will approve. The types of jobs available vary from state to state – in New York they include working for the welfare department,



in California, working for the schools for the disturbed, handicapped, etc. The only rigid criteria is that the job be more than 50 miles from your home (to cause you equivalent inconvenience to being in the army) and for a

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Turning The Guns Around

By Roz Leiser

Among soldiers, "F.T.A." stands for "fuck the army." It's a popular feeling in the military, and is in many cases the feeling which starts GI's on the road to becoming revolutionaries. The fact that there are growing numbers of GI's who are becoming revolutionaries is news to most people. But the fact that the GIs movement exists and is growing is important news, and it is vital for us in the civilian movement to be able to relate to it and support it.

The GI movement began about three years ago when the first GI coffeehouse was opened near Ft. Jackson, South Carolina. A primary goal of the coffeehouse projects was to provide a place for GIs to get away from the slave mentality and the dehumanizing activities which envelop and oppress enlisted men in their everyday lives. Gradually the projects, now numbering fourteen, developed into meeting places where GIs gathered to discuss not only the inhuman conditions in the army, but also the implications of the political role of soldiers. The GIs began to talk about their role as the armed force of imperialism and as oppressors of people fighting for their own freedom as in Vietnam.

Out of these discussions grew the roots of a national GI movement whose political activity ranged from peaceful sitdown strikes against the war to violent uprisings in stockades at Long Beach, Danang, and Manheim, West Germany.

An important element in the GI movement has been GI written and edited newspapers. There are 65 of these papers with a total circulation of 850,000. They contain letters from GIs describing the mental and physical torture they experience everyday, as well as analysis of why conditions in the military are the way they are, and how they can be changed. It is generally illegal for GI's to receive any literature on base, and anyone caught distributing such papers is immediately sent to the stockade. Under these conditions, the mere production of a newspaper becomes a dangerous political act.

The GI movement has continually faced the kind of repression that we here in St. Louis are only beginning to get a taste of. An example: The Presidio 27 who sat down in protest against the brutal murder of Private Richard Bunch, an 18 year old man with a history of mental problems who was shot in the back when his commanding officer *dared* him to try and escape the stockade, were initially sentenced to 14-16 years at hard labor. Peaceful sit-down demonstrations have gotten civilians small fines at most; throwing a rock at a cop can at worst be a violation of "civil rights law" and get you at most 10 years; in the military "assault of one's officers" would be called mutiny and would send a GI to prison for life.

Both the civilians and the GIs who have been involved in the GI movement have had to realize and deal with matters of life and death on a day to day basis. Several weeks ago a conference of GI organizers was held in St. Louis, and the people that I met there were, as a group, the most serious, totally committed white movement people I know of.

Unlike people who merely call themselves revolutionaries, the people at the conference lived their concept of revolution and made the term a serious concept rather than a parody of someone else's actions.

Four people from Berkeley stayed with us for nearly a week. They provided a clear demonstration of something very important which too few "movement" people seem to realize. Nowhere are politics more evident than in everyday ways of relating to people. Seemingly trivial things like their cleaning up our apartment or cooking dinner for us said more about where they were really at politically than 100 brilliant speeches could have. It is interesting to note that of the more than 60 organizers who stayed with people in this area, the only ones who were really inconsiderate were the ones whose politics were the least "revolutionary."

Another thing which really impressed me was the strength and ability to articulate of almost all the women involved. Even today, when male chauvinism is starting to come under attack and is entering political consciousness, it is rare to attend even a movement meeting where by and large the women are not only as articulate as the men, but in many instances more noticeably so. Although many of the women seemed to be questioning their role as women in the GI movement and some are moving into related areas like organizing GI wives, they seemed to be essential to the functioning of most of the individual projects. There was also a really beautiful sense of sisterhood and mutual respect among them, which is also something still too infrequent.

The U.S. military builds the U.S. empire. Without a highly disciplined and brutal army, the expansion and defense of imperialism, as in Indochina, could not exist. The military is the key resource that the ruling class must have to remain in power.

GI's are a logical and necessary part of the revolution if there is to be one. Soldiers represent the only trained fighting force in the country and have no personal stake in using those skills on foreign territory. Most men in the army are working class and black youths who gain absolutely nothing from protecting and executing American foreign policy. Many men end up joining the Marines because they would otherwise be serving time in jail. It is only through oppressive disciplinary measures that the United States is able to maintain an army which has no time to think about its own class interests.

The GI movement is made up of GI's who in growing numbers are refusing to fight exploitative wars and are beginning to understand the oppression of others as well as their own. It is no accident that we don't hear

much about the struggle within the military; what could be more threatening to Nixon's imperialist foreign policy than public knowledge that our army is moving towards a time when the guns will be turned away from the Vietnamese and toward the enemy at home?

It is our duty to do all we can to support the GI movement. It's important for us to relate as much as possible to the GI's at places like Fort Leonard Wood. Talk to them, and let them know they've got support from the outside world. Send them news of GI groups in other places, put them in touch with people you think might help them. Keep yourself aware of what's going on in the military and in the GI movement. That kind of support for the GI movement may determine whether or not the pig army will destroy the revolution or whether there will be only a victorious people's army.

***THE GI MOVEMENT* has spawned several of its own groups recently, most important of which is the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM). This is a GI led organization which originated at Camp Pendleton Marine base, where black, brown, and white GI's joined together with the Black Panther Party to plan one of the largest GI-led, civilian supported mobilizations in the country. MDM is one of the few groups in the movement in this country to involve both white and Third World peoples working together for the same goals. MDM's statement of political belief and demands are as follows:**

"Believing that ending the suppression of the American serviceman is an important part of a larger struggle for basic human rights, the Movement for a Democratic Military pledges support for the self-determination of all peoples. We are dedicated to using every means at our disposal to bring about a prompt end to the war in Vietnam, the exploitation of our brothers and sisters abroad, and the repression – both physical and economic – of those in our own land. We feel that by remaining silent, the serviceman has contributed to the denial of this deep-founded right of himself and of people everywhere to live free from intimidation and oppression. We have been silent for a long time. We will be silent no longer.

MDM demands:

1. We demand the right to collective bargaining.

2. Extend all human and constitutional rights to military men and women.

3. Stop all military censorship and intimidation:
- **We demand the right to individual conscience – moral, political, or religious.**
- **We demand the right to refuse politically objectionable duty such as riot control and Vietnam duty.**
- **We demand that MPs be kept out of our civilian lives.**

4. Abolish all mental and physical cruelty in military brigs, correctional custodies and basic training.

5. We demand the abolition of the present court martial system and NJP: All cases could be subject to automatic review by a board of civilians elected by all military men having one vote each. We demand trial by jury of one's peers by rank, the elimination of physical custody prior to legal hearings and non judicial punishment, and the establishment of a judicial system outside the chain of command.

6. We demand wages equal to the federal minimum wage for civilians.

7. We demand the abolition of the class structure of the military. We call for the end of saluting and sir-ring and special officer privileges and segregation and all other rank privileges. We demand the right for an enlisted man's elected review board of officer conduct. We believe that respect can only be earned on a human relating to human basis.

8. End all racism everywhere. Bring to immediate trial by the system demanded above, all officers and senior enlisted men who foment and exploit race tensions within the military.

9. Free All Political prisoners.

10. Stop the glorification of war now prevalent in all branches of the military.

11. Abolish the draft and all involuntary enlistment.

12. Pull out of Vietnam now.

MDM has spread throughout California and is viewed by the military brass as an incredible threat. On April 29, the MDM office in Oceanside, California was attacked by right wingers with a .45 calibre machine gun. Marine Corps Commandant Chapman at Pendleton has said that "MDM wants nothing less than democracy. I can think of no organization which is less democratic than the Marine Corps . . . Should MDM philosophies continue to pervade, it would end up in the destruction and degradation of the Marine Corps . . . and the defense of the country . . . We will, in accord with orders, stop anything which is detrimental to the health, morale and discipline in the Corps."

MPs protecting Ft. Dix from GIs and civilians.

Take Me Out Of The Ball Game

By Raymond Monzant

With the possible exception of shaving, baseball is the dullest of all human activities. In a three hour game there is likely to be fifteen minutes of action, and it is one of the few sports where the fans can get more exercise looking for the hot dog man than the players get down on the field.

Yet baseball dominates the sports imagination of this country. Horse racing draws more spectators and football may be more exciting, but it is baseball which manages to involve the greatest number of people. Clearly, the popularity of baseball in the face of all reason and logic is an important feature of American culture and understanding that popularity will tell us more about ourselves than tarot cards and psychoanalysts ever could.

There is an order and a sequence to baseball unmatched by any other game. Our love for it is a reverence for the past, for order, and for a time when things happened slowly and could be anticipated. Baseball always has a winner and a loser, there are always three outs in an inning, always nine men on a side, and always three bases to get past before you score. In a time when chaos seems to be the norm, baseball has an order and an internal logic which our lives lack.

It is that sense of order which makes baseball so unable to adapt to changing times. The men who own baseball clubs are reactionary dinosaurs who view their authority as a gift of God and who feel terrified by things like progress and change. Understandably, such traditionalists cling to all the outmoded notions of the past – particularly racism, paternalism, and elitism.

Racism in baseball is not often talked about, largely because its executives and officials spend so much time congratulating themselves on how they "bring the races together" that they ignore the blatantly racist practices which dominate the game.

Baseball has only been integrated since 1948; before that time it had the dubious distinction of being the only professional sport which formally excluded blacks. While many black players have emerged as great stars since 1948, an unwritten double standard persists. There are no black managers, although it is well known that men like Jim Gilliam, Gene Baker, Ed Charles, and Larry Doby are all well qualified for such a job. When a white ballplayer is injured he is referred to as a courageous individual battling back from his ailment, while the injured black man is frequently called a hypochondriac and a faker.

When the white ballplayer's career is over he can often get a job as a manager or in the front office, but the black athlete usually becomes a playground director somewhere.

However, the racism of the club owners takes on new dimensions when you consider their generally fossilized attitudes toward everything. Distrustful of new-fangled gadgets like television and the electric light, baseball's executives treat players and fans with enough authoritarianism and contempt to make the Pentagon blush.

When the Players Association threatened a strike early this year in order to get a decent pension plan, Arthur Allyn, owner of the Chicago White Sox, threatened to fire all his players and field a team made up of the first nine men he saw on the street. Aside from the fact that many fans thought that was exactly how Allyn got his players in the first place, Allyn's attitude is typical of the contemptuous attitude that baseball management has for the players.

This year when Curt Flood was traded to the Phillies from the Cardinals, he instituted a suit in federal court against the "reserve clause," the provision in every player's contract which binds him for life to the team who signed him. Even though many agree that the clause is illegal, Flood's suit caused everyone connected with baseball to have apoplexy. Despite the fact that no other sport has such a clause, the owners contend that baseball would be ruined if Flood won his suit and that they could no longer remain in business if they lost the reserve clause.

However, the most revealing aspect of baseball's problems is the relationship between the fans and the players. Baseball is built on idolatry and hero worship. These emotions are so strong that when Roger Maris broke Babe Ruth's home run record he was roundly booed everywhere he went by fans who had never seen Ruth, but who wanted to believe in him as invincible. Maris presented the possibility that an ordinary mortal could top one of the Gods and he paid the price for it.

Baseball players are supposed to be heroes and part of their heroism is the fan's view of them as "boys" playing a game instead of men making a living. Thus Willie Mays is constantly referred to as a happy-go-lucky kid even though he is a 39 year old man, and any player who shows any kind of maturity the way Curt Flood is doing is regarded as a trouble maker.

The racism, the mania for order, the feudal view of labor, and the need to see stars as child-like beings all reinforce baseball's reactionary nature. As a business it is totally corrupt, blacklisting players who stand up for their rights, violating antitrust laws on the grounds that it is a sport and not a business, and exploiting public consciousness of the game by forcing cities to foot the bill for the stadiums that the teams play in.

Most fans know exactly what is wrong with the game yet remain powerless to change it, since all power is vested in the hands of the owners. Certainly the whole phenomenon of professional sports faces the same basic problems: the conflict between the nature of sports and the need for businesses to make profits. However it appears that the greed of professional sports promoters is finally catching up with them.

As in all sports, baseball has profited by expansion in the last ten years, with eight new teams added since 1962. This has spread the sports dollar so thin that the survival of baseball is totally tied to television revenue. Half the new expansion cities have neither the population nor the interest to support their teams, and only television money keeps them alive. As public disgust with the anachronistic values of sports continues to grow, the whole bubble could burst and the greedy, racist, and reactionary barons of baseball could meet their deserved fate.

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No Time For Liberals Now

By Gail Pellett

Although there have been united efforts between radical women and the National Organization of Women (NOW) in some cities over specific issues, St. Louis radical women should be aware of the diluting or deradicalizing influence of such a coalition. NOW is composed mainly of professional and business women and housewives who accept the capitalist framework but believe in women's rights. Because they offer no critical analysis of society, they do not recognize that only through a revolutionary socialist transformation will all people be liberated from the shackles of class, race, and sex oppression. Likewise, they do not recognize the liberation struggles of other segments of society. By failing to raise fundamental questions about human existence under capitalism, they offer no real alternatives to the present economic and social structures, values, or life-styles. They certainly display little understanding of the cultural revolution.

The problem for radical women as to what type of stand they should take toward such a group as NOW may not be so easily solved. With the kind of divisive attitudes expressed by NOW spokeswomen like Connie Rosenbaum, we have to ask if we even care about co-operation with non-radical factions. Should we reject them in the struggle to build a strong revolutionary movement? Or do we approach them as possible future cadres, expending much of our energy in trying to bring them to a more radical position? Will our own movement be weakened in this process? This dilemma is not unique to the women's liberation movement but arises whenever coalitions are considered with essentially liberal factions.

The radical women's liberation movement then must ask if NOW is even struggling for the same things. Are we to free women to be corporate capitalists? So they can better oppress others? Or so they can buy more Madison Avenue shit? While many of the issues raised by NOW are relevant, i.e. day care, abortion, job discrimination, they are raised within a liberal framework. Legalizing abortion is fine . . . for those who can pay $500 and up. (The whole system of health care in this country must be challenged!) Equal pay for equal work is meaningless if work is alienating and conditions for living are dehumanizing and materialism is the goal. Day-care is a basic need for everyone, but if it costs money and perpetuates stereotyped sex roles, competition, egotism, and racism, it changes nothing.

A recent article in the Wall Street Journal describes a new corporation founded by the Los Angeles NOW chapter president "devoted solely to the creation and merchandizing of products for liberated women by liberated women." Items include posters, jewelry, apparel, and a "book of etiquette for liberated women." While radical women are viciously exposing materialism and the existential nothingness it belies, NOW is busy co-opting that and offering us liberated crap!

A further indication of where NOW is at can be found in the theory of "responsible revolution" eschewed by Connie Rosenbaum founder of St. Louis NOW and paid women's lib reporter for the Pig-Dispatch. Concerned with images, she describes NOW as a security group for "serious-minded women to work for change unencumbered by militant tactics." Because NOW rejects "flashy demonstrations" and believes in "lots of tedious work they are fast gaining a reputation as respectable, responsible and effective." In fact, Rosenbaum suggests that members of NOW and similar organizations are the only women really doing anything in the movement. FAR-OUT!

So far, radical women in St. Louis have made the major contributions towards building a women's lib movement. They have produced a newspaper, a speakers bureau, two conferences, and appeared on radio and TV programs. They have begun planning day-care facilities, and are teaching classes on women's lib . . . and generally have spent a lot of energy spreading the word. Aside from this most of these radical women support and work on other movement struggles.

Teachers Punished For War Protest at UMSL

By Jon Cohen

"Unity" was restored to the University of Missouri's four campuses when Glen Driscoll, Chancellor of the University of Missouri in St. Louis, bowed to pressure from the Board of Curators and docked four faculty members a day's pay for cancelling classes during the May 6 strike at UMSL. A class boycott was organized that day to protest the war in Indochina and the shooting of students at Kent State. Driscoll had twice resisted taking this action but John Weaver, president of the University of Missouri's four campuses, insisted that in the name of unity, UMSL teachers who dismissed classes on May 6 had to be dealt with as harshly as those at the Columbia campus.

Disciplinary hearings at UMSL originated at the May 8 meeting of the Board of Curators when a resolution was passed instructing Driscoll to furnish the Board with the names of teachers who had dismissed classes on May 6, together with a report of actions taken against them.

The May 6 strike was announced to a crowd of over a thousand people at UMSL after a May 5 memorial service for the four students killed at Kent State. The strike activities consisted of a class boycott, which was more than 50 per cent effective, and an attempt to prevent non-university vehicles from entering the campus. Classroom buildings were picketed but no one was prevented from attending classes and no university functions were physically disrupted. Two incidents of violence occurred. An anti-strike student teargassed a group of strikers who were seated in front of a car and a striker was run over when he stood in front of a car in an attempt to get the driver to stop and take a leaflet. No actions were taken against these people for assault but fifteen faculty members were threatened with severe reprisals by the Board of Curators for allegedly missing one day of class.

After the strike some complaints were filed by students who alleged that their teachers had failed to meet their classes. Fifteen names were turned in to the Chancellor's office and an identical set of names was sent to the Board of Curators. The accused teachers, of which I am one, were sent letters asking us to meet with him to discuss what actions should be taken against us.

In my meeting with the Chancellor he told me that no complaints were made against me by my own

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Keeping It In The Family

Radical Research Group

Hat's off to Washington University for keeping it all in the family and keeping their politics out front.

Tad Foote, Senator Fulbright's son-in-law and member of one of St. Louis' most powerful law firms – Bryan, Cave, McPheeters and McRoberts – will soon become WU's Vice Chancellor in Charge of Legal Affairs. The new position, created in the wake of last spring's anti-ROTC offensive, suggests that the university was fully satisfied with the services rendered by county and federal courts and that it plans to use the courts to crush the movement that is sure to grow in the fall.

Foote will be right at home in his new job, since his law firm represented many of the same corporations that run WU: Anheuser Busch, Brown Shoe Co., Emerson Electric, Granite City Steel, McDonnell Douglas, Ralston Purina, Reinholdt & Gardner, First National Bank in St. Louis, and St. Louis Union Trust.

They also had some other clients, like Pulitzer Publishing which puts out the Post-Dispatch, Delmar Bank of University City, Webster Groves Trust Co., Tower Grove Bank and Trust Co., Dempsey Tegler and Co., Conn. General Life Insurance Co., the Equitable Life Insurance Society of the U.S., New York Life Assurance Co., Penn. Mutual Life Assurance Co., Browning Arms Co., John Deere Co. of St. Louis, Peabody Coal Co., Texaco, Biederman National Stores, St. Louis University, and, of course, Washington University.

Remember what we were saying about how a few people control most of the decisions that affect our lives? This one law firm represents most of the major corporations, banks, stock brokers, and universities in St. Louis. Without these corporate lawyers, these companies could not continue to rip off the people.

Lawyers like Foote figure out how corporations can pay as little as possible in taxes – which means we have to pay more – and how they can avoid prosecution for violating anti-trust or anti-pollution laws – which means we have to pay more for what we buy and we have to live with pollution. And its lawyers like Foote who get injunctions against striking workers or radical students, who figure out the best way to put the courts and the cops to work for the corporations.

America and St. Louis are run by power. And Foote's law firm drips with the power of the many corporations it represents – with the money they control and the political connections they have. When you get right down to it, having money and knowing the right people is more important in court than the facts of the case. And that is why Bryan, Cave, McPheeters and McRoberts are such good lawyers – they have the money and political power that it takes to make deals.

Corporate lawyers, like Foote, direct the alliance between the corporations and the legal system. When you see a cop defending corporate interests, remember that there's a corporate lawyer hiding in the shadows calling the shots for his powerful bosses.

Now that WU's power is being threatened, and along with it the power of corporations like McDonnell Douglas, Monsanto, Olin, and Emerson Electric, it makes good sense to put a man who knows from experience what it's all about in charge of using the law to see that the power stays right where it is. The people Foote works for know all about the domino theory: "if we don't stop them at WU, the next thing you'll know they'll be coming out to our factories trying to organize our workers." And you know they might be right.

And while we're at it, hats off to George Pake for climbing another rung on the ladder of success. While he was here, George was a one man interlocking directorate all by himself – Edward Mallinckrodt distinguished professor of Physics at WU, member of McDonnell Douglas' Board of Directors, and Chairman of the St. Louis Research Council. He was the man in the middle, trying to get financial support for the universities from the corporations and the government, and trying to make sure that the corporations and the government get what they want in return from the universities.

But now George Pake has left for the greener pastures, Xerox, where he is Vice President of the Xerox Corporation research laboratories and manager of its research center. To keep the family ties intact, Pake was just named to WU's Board of Trustees.

And to cement the tie between McDonnell Douglas and WU even tighter, McDonnell Aircraft's president, Sanford McDonnell, was also named to WU's Board. Looks like the university is pulling itself together during the summer lull.

People's Music Good Business

By Mark Mule
St. Louis Liberation Front

A lot of people in St. Louis know that the Mississippi River Festival is a heavy scene. Sloppy St. Louis has to have some of these sounds. But there is something funny going on behind all of this. Take a look at the Festival's board of directors – John L. Gillis, Senior Vice-president of Monsanto; Mrs. Spencer Olin, wife of the director of Olin Mathieson; Nicholas P. Voeder, Chairman of Granite City Steel; Ernest Karenjeff, President of Granite City Trust; Dr. Albert W. Trtanj, Granite City secretary. This is a representative group of the St. Louis ruling class.

When you look behind those names and corporations what do you see? These are some of the people who are making decisions about how our lives will be run. They have been making decisions which have led to the pollution of our water and air (Monsanto, Granite City Steel, and Olin Mathieson): Two of the companies are important producers of war material (Olin Mathieson and Monsanto). These last two companies also have extensive empires throughout the world.

These members of the ruling class may or may not dig the people's music – but what they relate to is the fact that events like the Festival attract people to St. Louis as a place to work and reside. So long as this happens, the ruling class is happy – it has more drawing cards for attracting prospective workers to St. Louis. In other words, being on the Festival's board of directors is not mere philanthropy – it is a way to get a few brownie points for their companies and a way to help their drive for new employees. These are just a few of the elements which make up their overall drive for growth and profit. Digging the music is incidental, for this class has other interests in mind. Look what is said in one local publication: "Any region desiring to attract new industrial firms or the sorts of scientists, engineers, professionals, managers, etc., which are essential in this dynamic age of technological competition, must be *reasonably impressive* as a place to live and work or have programs underway which afford hope of improvement." This same publication goes on to cite the professional sports teams, the museums, and the art and music events in the area.

What should be clear is that music does not exist in a social and economic vacuum. Music in the Mother Country bears some relationship to what is going on in other areas of life, and we should check these things out.

We are not advocating specific actions to be taken concerning this situation at the Festival. We want people to be hip to what is going on behind the scenes so they can get themselves together as they see fit – the ruling class is at the Festival to use the people, not to dig the people. The word for people at the Mississippi River Festival is that the thing puts us all in a trickbag, and we will all have to pick our heads and struggle for ways to liberate the people's music.

Recent Albums Feature Great Male Vocalists

By Calvin Cahan

Trains of music, flatcars, and rock 'n' roll caravans keep on coming. Not that many are worth jumping onto. Who wants to leap into a refrigerated car or a suffocating cattle freight? But some are worth lying crushed on the tracks for, decapitated dogs notwithstanding.

The fifth Creedence Clearwater Revival album is named for the warehouse in Oakland which the group turned into a recording studio – Cosmo's Factory. That's the terminal from which originates the Revival whistle stop special. (No more stops in Lodi, however.) Besides the road tested singles "Up Around the Bend," "Who'll Stop the Rain," "Travelin' Band," and "Run Through the Jungle," are such things as an eleven-minute version of "I Heard It Through the Grapevine," and a cut entitled "Lookin' Out My Back Door." Their "Grapevine" track will leave breathless even the most weary cross-tie walker. And "Back Door" and "Long As I Can See the Light" reveal the ability of John Fogerty to conduct trains, electricity, and all of the unclassified yearning juices. The Creedence train goes backward and forward. Long bluesy guitar runs and tight, taut observation car songs. Penn Centrals go bankrupt while Creedence keeps its passengers staying awake all night leaning wistfully out the windows.

When Rod Stewart was with Jeff Beck, the albums credited him with "vocals extraordinaire." With *Gasoline Alley* just out from Mercury, Rod Stewart has but two albums which just about wipe clean the slate of British blues groups, white blues singers, "folk-rock" specialists, ad infinitum. Stewart's voice keeps every phrase from the extremes of maudlin over-emphasis and bland understatement. His voice and the exquisite backup on his two albums (most of whom form, with Stewart, the reconstituted Small Faces) mold each song into a straight and narrow laser beam. As interpreter (on *Gasoline Alley* – "It's All Over Now," and Dylan's "Only a Hobo") or singer of his own songs, Stewart reaches into every possible bag and pulls out stuff the equal of any vocalist I can think of, with the possible exception of Van Morrison. From the first *Rod Stewart Album* there's "Handbags and Gladrags." On the new one there's "Country Comforts," "Street Fighting Man," and "It's All Over Now," "Cindy's Lament" and "Jo's Lament." "An Old Raincoat Will Never Let You Down" and "Cut Across Shorty." As with Creedence, there are tambourines and elephants in the band.

And then there is Van Morrison. Belfast, "Gloria," "Brown-eyed Girl," congeal into layers of clear, multicolored gelatin, producing *Astral Weeks* and *Moondance*. *Astral Weeks*, although out since the beginning of 1969, is extremely difficult to get in St. Louis. I finally tracked it down in Boston. *Moondance* is Morrison's newest and is composed of self-contained

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Workers Win Victories In Chicago and Pittsburgh

By Tom Joad

Construction workers in Pittsburgh and Teamsters in Chicago have won decent contracts despite the efforts of business and government to stop them. Their struggle contains important lessons for all of us.

In Pittsburgh, the construction workers were supposed to be the first victims of the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable, an organization composed of 100 large corporations whose purpose is to force labor to accept contracts favorable to management. The corporations in the Roundtable pledged to shut down all their construction projects in the event of a strike against any one contractor, thereby locking out all workers in the industry in case any went on strike. In addition, the Roundtable tried to drum up public oppostion to the workers by saying that inflation was caused by wage demands and that it was the workers who are responsible for the high cost of living.

At first, the Roundtable appeared to be successful when the carpenters settled for a terrible contract. But other unions held out and eventually forced the contractors to agree to wage increases of $3 an hour over three years, an increase of 15 per cent per year.

Earlier this year, the Teamsters thought they were going to get a $3 an hour increase too, when Frank Fitzsimmons, Teamster National President, talked about that figure. When the national leadership accepted a $1.10 an hour increase and a contract which greatly decreased safety procedures in the shops, workers all over the country went off the job in wildcat strikes against that settlement.

Chicago Teamsters, who by their own choice are not part of the national contract, struck for at least $1.65 and were promptly faced with a lockout by trucking companies. After three and a half months of striking and after everybody else in the country had accepted $1.10, the Chicago Teamsters won their pay increase, forcing industry to renegotiate the national contract which was then revised to $1.85 per hour increase.

Leaders of government and industry as well as the media – including the "enlightened" Post-Dispatch – are screaming long and loud about the "inflationary" nature of both of these settlements.

California Temaster shows wound he received from police dog while manning the picket line during a wildcat strike.

Their meaning is bullshit and we should all recognize it as such. It is not decent wages and salaries which have caused high prices, but twenty years of inflationary policies pursued by government and industry.

During the past two decades, there have been three marked inflationary periods – that associated with the Korean War, that of 1956-58, and that of the 1960s which moved into high gear in 1965 and is still going strong. The current period of inflation like that of the Korean War is the result of a huge increase in defense spending and a tremendous expansion of defense related industry.

That increase pushed prices up in all sectors of the economy. The inflation of 1956-58 was the result of a huge increase in capital goods spending (construction of new plants and facilities) by major U.S. corporations. Since 1964 outlays for military goods have increased 58.6 per cent and that for plants and equipment 58.2 per cent. Those increases and not the demands of working people for decent wages and salaries is why our dollars buy less and less everyday. Working people (teamsters, construction workers, and all of us) don't cause inflation, we suffer from it.

The goal of the Nixon administration and the big corporate leaders he works for is to make us pay for inflation through low wages and lousy salaries. Anybody who accepts poor pay to help Nixon "fight inflation" is cutting his own throat. The construction workers in Pittsburgh and the Teamsters in Chicago wouldn't do that and we should be glad they didn't. For us, inflation isn't an academic problem, it's a question of survival; of how to deal with high prices, lousy pay, unemployment and unsafe working conditions.

All of us (teamsters, construction and auto workers, teachers, and engineers) must see to it that our demands for higher pay are coupled with demands for more control over the conditions we work under and the things we produce. We must all insist that better pay results in lower profits for the corporations and not higher prices for the people.

And most importantly, we must use our political power to force the government to abandon the imperialist policies which are the root cause of inflationary "defense" spending. It is time we realized that it's not Nixon or the generals or the big corporate executives but us who produce the goods and do the work in this country. And it's time we started using our power to help the people instead of our bosses and so-called leaders.

◀◀2

reality of America in the 1970's made an unsceduled appearance at the pavilion. Two rapes were reported Monday night, two more on Tuesday. There were numerous assaults and robberies and lots of fights between motorcycle gangs, straights and hippies. Racial tension also ran high.

The St. Louis power structure deserves much of the credit for these macabre festival "happenings." The local media, perhaps more determined than usual as a result of Yippie public relations coups scored at their expense, worked hard to stir up anti-festival feelings. Their efforts were led by Charlotte Peters, well known for substituting racism and bigotry for her lack of talent and intelligence. She used her daytime TV show to issue a call for people to go to the park with baseball bats to beat in Yippie heads. (That was a little too strong even for KTVI, which promptly threw her off the air. She should have been thrown in jail.) Given comments like that backed up by editorials from KMOX and the usual rantings from the Globe, it isn't surprising that some people showed up at the park looking for trouble. The police did their part as well; using a black undercover agent to stir up racial tension in addition to their usual tactics of dope busts and general hassling.

Despite these hassles the festival organizers must share some of the blame for its failings. They promised big name bands that never showed up because they had never agreed to appear in the first place. They offered free food but never produced it. And they talked a lot about workshops, display booths etc., but never did the work necessary to make them a reality. As a result people came to the festival expecting things that weren't there.

The festival's major weakness stemmed from the myth of the magic of a rock festival. Ever since Woodstock people have been led to believe that "socialism at one festival" is a possibility. It isn't. Racism, sexism, exploitation, and repression are the reality of modern America and dope, music, and a lot of people in one place at one time won't change that reality. The causes of America's social problems are structural. They stem from the way we produce our goods and allocate our resources. They are the results of systemized capitalism and imperialism. That reality will take a revolution to change and that revolution will take years of hard political struggle and sacrifice to accomplish.

The struggles around use of the park which in part led to the festival of life are part of the political work necessary to bring about that revolution. They have taught a number of people important things about the nature of power in America. Those lessons will be remembered long after the Festival of Life is forgotten.

A Call For Creative Destruction

By William C. Davison
From Resist

"We are committed to a non-violent revolution against injustice. This means a non-violence of effective and continuing disruption of the machine of death and oppression in America. This means a disruption which destroys certain property when that property is used to destroy men, women and children."
– *from a statement by the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives, a group of eleven men and women who destroyed draft files in Philadelphia and GE files in Washington, D.C., February 6 and 7, 1970.*

Everyone supports some destruction for life, if only by eating food and burning fuel. Problems arise when the things destroyed are valued by others, when the consequences of destruction are hard to predict, or when lives are threatened.

More than a million draft files in over 150 boards across the country have been destroyed within the past two years. Data on chemical warfare research have been erased from the magnetic tape on which they had been stored. Files from the lobbying offices of large corporations have been destroyed or removed and publicized. Explosions and fires have damaged corporate offices, police stations, draft and induction centers, banks, and more. How do we choose, for ourselves and RESIST, the extent and nature of our own support for and participation in these and other actions? Under what circumstances may destroying things be vital to preserving and enriching life? Can we develop a doctrine of "just destruction" within the context of continuously building a more humane, socialist society?

For some, all acts of destruction are to be rejected as violent. Others embrace them all as vanguard actions in a necessarily violent struggle. I do not find the choices so simple. For example, I favor continued destruction of draft files, war material, and some corporate files but oppose the bombing of corporate offices. What is my basis for such distinction?

1. *Does the action directly debase or threaten the life of anyone?* I do not believe we can achieve a more just and humane society, one in which people have real control over the means of production and the circumstances of their lives, by a transitional phase during which murder and brutality are condoned. It is necessary to make basic changes in institutional structures and power relationships, but individual men and women are not our enemies. When making these changes, we seek to minimize suffering and assist those whose lives are disrupted. Even with advance warning the bombing of corporate offices threatens lives, while tearing up 1-A draft files saves lives.

2. *Does the destruction have an immediate effect on institutions committing mass murder and exploitation?* Now particularly, when some are becoming desperate in their unsuccessful efforts to counter war policies, racism, and economic injustice, it is important to focus careful, limited destruction only on those things most directly used against people. 1-A draft files, supplies of weapons, documents essential to the illegitimate concentration of economic power by a few for their own profit, all are examples of such things. Windows, parked cars, and wall telephones are not.

3. *Is there significant and growing opposition to the institutions being opposed, so that the destruction is not an elitist action with no popular base?* The draft for the war against Vietnam is being actively opposed in many ways, so that draft-file destruction serves to focus and intensify that opposition. A corporation which combines immense war production, world-wide exploitation, reactionary politics, and an awakening labor force provides a readily understood target; small subcontractors or private shops do not.

4. *Does the action aggravate fear and paranoia, providing the government with a convenient justification for increased repression?* Fear is increased when the public has no notion of what kinds of destruction will take place, who is doing the destroying, or why. The government can (and does) inflame this fear to create a climate in which more people will go along with repressive measures. Destructive acts by people who publicly identify themselves, openly discuss the reasons for their actions, encourage analysis, and accept criticism, can help to counter the violence and hatred created by war and the institutions which support it.

5. *Does the action help build a more influential and coherent movement, increasing political awareness and individual commitment?* Fundamental change in our technologically advanced and centralized society will not be produced by isolated guerrilla bands or by arm-chair revolutionaries. Constructive radical action must provide means for drawing people together and for their active engagement in sustained and purposeful work. To contribute to this struggle, acts of destruction must be related to a basically constructive movement operating at many levels, with trust and understanding among those with different levels of commitment and with different views on specific issues.

Vigorous, sustained, and principled resistance by all who value life is needed against the waging of war and the plundering of the world's resources. RESIST has contributed to this resistance primarily by funding diverse groups. I think it is necessary that we also contribute our own evaluations of trends both within and against the movement and clarify our own positions on violence and destruction, both reactionary and revolutionary.

◀11

students but some other students had complained because I had given a speech in support of the strike. He also made it clear that the investigation was not prompted by my absence from class but by the use of the strike as a means of political expression. He said the strike had turned class attendance into a political act and so by cancelling classes, teachers had trapped their students into supporting the political aims of the strike. He expressed fear that continued moratoriums and strike days would lead to the intervention of outside forces which would threaten the independence of the university.

At the June 2 meeting of the Board of Curators, Driscoll submitted a report based on informal discussions he had held with some of the accused faculty members. His report contained no names and tended to be mostly a recommendation for future guidelines. The Board did not accept this at all and two Curators went so far as to propose the dismissal of all teachers who dismissed classes after May 4. This proposal was tabled and Driscoll was instructed to conduct a more thorough investigation and take actions which he deemed appropriate.

A faculty committee, appointed in early June to determine what actually happened and to suggest possible administrative actions, found that four teachers had cancelled classes but there had been no significant interference in the educational process. They further agreed it was impossible and improper to determine if political intent was involved in the class dismissals and concluded that while a reprimand might be reasonable action, neither firing nor withholding of wages was appropriate punishment for one day's cancellation of classes.

Driscoll, taking the committee report under advisement, sent letters of admonishment to three teachers, sent me a formal reprimand, and dismissed the charges against the rest for lack of evidence. The Chancellor accepted the committee's guidelines regarding punishment but deviated from it in singling out my actions as being politically motivated. He submitted a report of his actions to President Weaver who rejected them and asked Driscoll, in the interests of campus unity, to make the penalties more severe.

Administrators must not define their success or failure in terms of their ability to maintain order. They must realize that disruptions will not stop until the war is over and the troops are brought home. Every male student is a potential victim of the war. Even at a commuter college like UMSL, where students work sometimes as much as forty hours a week, they still have plenty of time to contemplate the horror of Vietnam and count the days until they become its victims. At an institution with so many draft age people, many facing duty in Vietnam, it would be foolish and immoral to expect them to go to school and await their fate passively. Universities are caught in a terrible conflict between their students and their government and peace will be restored to the university only when there is no more war or no more students.

◀12

songs, whereas *Astral Weeks* is a forty-minute trance. Quoting lines from Van Morrison would be equal to stealing pencils from a blindman. The words are not The Word. Van Morrison's voice, his band, his breathing, give life to his words. It's fun trying to figure out the "meaning" to things like "Desolation Row," but it's a waste of precious life's breath to do the same with Van Morrison.

There's a cut on *Moondance* called "Caravan." You don't decide to join the caravan, all you can do is grimace (a cheerful grimace) and bag passage from a wagon master far more ethereal than Ward Bond. The vibrations from *Moondance* are joyous enough to allow one to forgive Johnny Rivers for coming out with a version of "Into the Mystic" (from *Moondance*). And the vibrations from *Astral Weeks* can shatter any seismograph's needle. As in an earthquake, the tremors come from within.

I've never seen Van Morrison in concert, but I can picture him singing and playing behind a wooden table. Upon this table are many glasses filled with different kinds of drinks – wine, lemonade, mineral water, cola, apple cider, any thing people drink to quench their thirst and ward off dryness. With each syllable uttered from his throat I can see him taking a sip from one of the liquids and then singing some more. The thirsts of singer and of those being sung to can never be quenched, but the sweet release of the liquid trickling down our throats is enough to get us through the moment. After the moment is over, without thinking, we run to the park fountain. If we begin to think, we lose our water. Then we had better hope for Van Morrison to find the strength to keep on pumping.

◀4 However, the Chancellor who reputedly wrote most of the agreement got chewed out by Governor Hearnes and withdrew his support for it. The Curators were furious about the agreement and repudiated it at their June 2 meeting, demanding punitive action against faculty and students who took part in demonstrations, class dismissals or who gave out grades on the basis of work completed before final exams.

It is ironic that the most heavily penalized people were those faculty members who intervened and encouraged non-violent and essentially non-disruptive forms of protest. They probably accomplished what 500 armed guards could not have – the avoidance of damage to people or property. While what they did may have stretched the rules a bit, in the context of the situation they seemed to be the essential moderating force and were crucial in ending the strike.

The lesson to be learned from this is that moderation is no cure for repression. In most cases, punishment comes in response to political effectiveness and not as a response to violence. When deciding whether to use violent means, the decision should be based on political and moral considerations and not in the hope of avoiding repression.

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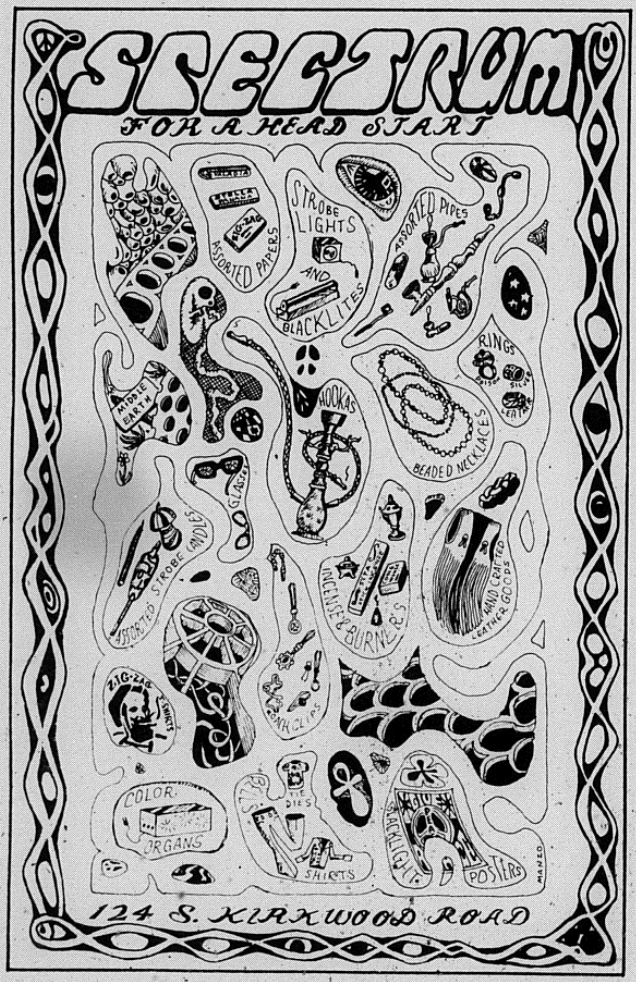

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Cops Protect Wife Beater

By Sterling and Lucifer

We had a party. It wasn't much of a party but the people there tried to make a go of it.

Four people went downstairs and sat on the steps in front of the house. There was a lady across the street trying to get her car started. They went over to her and offered to help start the car. They found the distributor cap to be missing. A few moments later her husband came out. "I'll kill any son-of-abitch who tries to fix this car," he said. He then argued with his wife about which one of them owned the car. After another outburst they turned and crossed the street.

The four then heard the screams of the woman as her husband dealt her several blows to the face, and nearly broke her arm. She screamed for help and the police. We all came running out into the streets (right on). The woman was running away from him. This time along with her children. She came and stood by us. The man (excuse that misnomer) challenged us, a group of 14, to try and stop him. He replaced the distributor cap and drove off.

We called the police.

Twenty-five minutes later we called the police again. When 15 more minutes passed and the cops still weren't there we phoned in an emergency call. Ten minutes later the police came. Bill went up to one of them and said,

"It's about time."

"So what business is it of yours? How old are you?"

"20"

"Where do you live?" Larry broke in, "Look man; there's a lady over here that's been beat up. How about seeing to that!" They then looked over at the woman standing there and must have realized that they looked pretty ridiculous standing there putting on their tough guy act instead of showing any consideration for her predicament. They went up with her to fetch her drunken husband.

When they came back, the woman informed me that she couldn't have him arrested and that on a charge like this they'd let him go again in five minutes. She was also very paranoid about letting the pigs know about his stealing probation.

The police then told us to get off the streets and that they better not catch us outside again. I asked why. "Because you're loitering and I'll take you in on peace disturbance."

We sauntered back to the house. Bill and I decided to ask the cop's name. By this time there were three cops and I asked very politely, "Sir, what is your name?" He stuck out his chest with his name plate on it and said very toughly, "Here it is." 'Graves' was his name. A captain in the car got very upset. "What do you want to know my mens' names for!" The cops surrounded the two of us and grip their billy clubs. "WHAT DO YOU WANT TO KNOW MY MENS' NAME FOR!!!!!???" I said, "Frankly, I don't think it would do any good." "Oh, yeah, why not?" "Because apparently you're of the same state of mind as they are," (I gestured all around me). "There's no state of mind, these officers are just doing their duty." "Look, we were just trying to help this lady . . ." "Does it take a million of you?" "The guy looked dangerous, we didn't know what he would do. We waited 45 minutes for you . . ." "Then your complaint is with the radio dispatch. My officers came as soon as they got the message." (The second time we called we were told a car was on its way.) "Now get off the streets and don't let me see you here again."

We sat in front of the house and rapped about the bad vibes we were receiving off the pig network. We were very careful not to inflict any noise into the air disturbing the law 'n' order atmosphere. We were in South St. Louis, the heart of it, the 15th ward, Doris Bass country; six freaky looking people and one was black. After about a half hour that same police cruiser pulled up. The two tuffies from Marlboro country got out and said, "We got a complaint of peace disturbance. You better get movin." "Yeah, we were just leavin."

When everybody went home I sat down and thought awhile. I wondered if it was safe to even come to the aid of your fellow man. I shudder to think what would have happened to me if I had to beat the shit out of that drunk to keep him from beating his protective wife (a wife who said he never touched the battered up kids she was with, who didn't mention his probation, who had already given him two chances to reform). But wife beating is such a routine and boring occurrence. We are the Outlaws. We are the black and white niggers of Amerika. Yes, it certainly is imaginative to think that it's more important to get us 'dangerous' mutations off the street than to get a slob, who lets his family starve while he drinks up his semi-annual pay check plus the family welfare, into an institution of some kind.

The cops are ready for another Chicago here, some even welcome it. But who do you warn? I find that it does no good to complain to the same system that takes an hour to answer, "Hey, there's somebody down here beating his wife." and five seconds to answer, "Hey, there's some goddam hippies sittin on the porch across the street from me." Fly Free Yippie

Federal Trials Starting!

The Legal Defense Fund desperately needs your support. Please send whatever you can contribute to:

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non-profit agency. (This can sometimes be worked, as in places where certain foundations are approved as alternate service, so as to be able to do about anything you want).

As I said earlier, C.O. is only one option. Many men find it distasteful because they don't want to deal on that level with their draft board, or feel that they would be lying. C.O. can be seen as a cop-out and in some cases is one. As with all draft deferments, saving your own neck does not stop Amerikan imperialism all over the world. Only if you use the time you save yourself to work effectively towards revolutionary change is getting a C.O. a meaningful step.

Once again, with work and good counselling, chances for getting a C.O. are good. There is almost no draft board that will never give a C.O. classification. Another point to keep in mind is this – everyone who requests the C.O. form from his board must be sent a copy. (He is under no obligation to return it). The more copies requested, the busier the draft board is. Every man who returns the form must have his case considered, and this keeps the draft board even busier. Along the same lines, men are supposed to inform their draft boards of every change in their condition or address. So, just to show you're a good law abiding citizen, you might want to write your draft board about once a week telling them you're away for the weekend, have a cold, bought some new clothes, etc. They are obligated to file all such letters. It can't hurt, and in it's own small way may help smash the (selective service) system.

The Associated Press reported on July 1 that property has been purchased for a huge underground shelter to which corporate executives could flee in periods of rioting or bombings.

The $10,000,000 facility, first of its kind in the nation, will be as big as a football field and will also be a storage house for important records. A landing strip will be built at the site. The complex, 40 feet underground, will have two computers, recreation facilities, a library, food stocks, a surgical room, a dentists' office and a morgue.

The firm says the facility "can withstand anything but a direct hit by a nuclear weapon."

A new political group has surfaced in California called the fishermen. Their emblem is a hand clasping a fish – the clenched fish, and their motto is "You don't need a fisherman to know when something's fishy."

Free School Offers Alternative

By Vicki and Alfhild

The Westminister Neighborhood School is a full time school which first opened its doors last fall to 14 fifth and sixth grade children. Over this summer we're trying to raise the money to go on next year with the same group of students, and also add a class of younger children.

One very important principle with us is freedom of education – the idea that a child can be trusted to want to learn, and to pick up basic skills if he's given a chance to pursue some project important to *him*. But we are not a Summerhill, we are not like the typical picture associated with the words "free school" (a long-haired little boy romping on a California hillside). The children who came to our school this year are black city dwellers, many of them poor. And their parents are not hip professionals who groove on the idea of a free school, but parents who had worked with a tutoring program at a local church and who came to see that it was an inadequate response to the brutalizing experience in public schools. And so a second important principle with us – one which sets us apart from most free schools – is community control. Most of the members of the school's Board are parents (the others are education professors and people from the public schools), and the Board makes many important decisions about the life of the school.

Free education and community control is not an easy combination to pull off, so this year has been full of hard compromises. We began with much more structure than we had planned – because of our own inexperience and the kids' frenzied response to their first taste of "freedom," as well as the anxiety of the parents. (At the end of the year, we had math and reading in the morning, and in the afternoons the kids chose among workshops in science, art, photography, etc.; or went on field trips. Next year we plan to use an "integrated day" approach, which eliminates artificial divisions between subjects, or between learning and fun.)

By saying we made hard compromises, we don't mean to imply that we sacrificed Noble Principle to Ugly Reality. In fact our compromises were in some ways our first tiny and somewhat unwilling steps towards meeting our truest, most radical goal – creating a non-elitist, non-manipulative and loving process of growth and decision-making. We must create it in Board meetings as well as in classrooms; when we're sure that we alone have the Correct Analysis, as well as when everyone conveniently agrees with us. Products of this competitive capitalist culture that we are, IT AIN'T EASY.

In everyday reality, this means that we had times which were chaotic and frustrating, and times which were too rigid and mechanical. But as we came to trust each other, beautiful things began to happen. A math class on angles and proportions erupted into a project to build a scale model of Central Park, with the kids digging into reference books and racing through math lessons. Board meetings were sometimes tense and suspicious, sometimes lively and warm.

And over the year we have all grown. The kids now are more often excited than frenzied, more often supportive of each other than spiteful. So we are more relaxed and free with them. The parents trust us much more now that they've seen that their children are learning the three R's, and liking it. We have come to respect them as the courageous people they are, and to see their concerns as real and important, not just obstacles to get around. (So much free school "freedom" is middle class privilege – ooh la la aren't we groovy is a safe enough attitude for a kid who won't have to face harsh economic reality if he never learns to read.)

We're also committed to the idea that the Westminster Neighborhood School should have a broader impact; that it's not enough just to be a nice thing for a few people. We are demonstrating that a good education can be provided cheaply with creative use of untapped resources – people, unused building space, nature, the city itself. And there's another set of possiblities which we've been too nervous (and too busy!) to develop. The school has gathered together an incredibly diverse group of people – education professors who've served on our Board, public school people who've helped over the year, the parents, the kids, the teachers. This group shares acute discontent with the public school system. But it also shares a meaningful vision of what a school should be; hard, practical experience in making that vision a reality; and an ability to work together based on hard won mutual respect. This is a group which can be unafraid, and effective, in demanding change.

But first we have to survive for another year. Board members and teachers wore themselves out last year trying to raise money and run a school at the same time. So we are trying over the summer to raise as much of our $12,000 minimum budget as we can. The Julius Hemphill Ensemble (on July 26) and the Missouri Area Bluegrass Committee are giving benefit concerts. (Get details and tickets at Left Bank or Burgdorf's.) We hope that people will come, bring friends, and donate whatever extra money they can. But we also desperately need people who can help us organize other benefits, or who can help put us in touch with people or foundations with money to give away. Call Vicki or Alfhild at 652-9143.

Turmoil in Northern Ireland

By Paul McNulty
LIBERATION News Service

(EDITOR'S NOTE: After radical leader and Member of Parliament Bernadette Devlin began a 6-month prison term on June 26 for participating in "riotous behavior" last summer (she was actually protecting her community of the Bogside in Londonderry, one of Northern Ireland's largest cities, from attacks by British troops and Protestant vigilantes), large-scale street fighting started in the streets of Londonderry and in Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland.

In battles which lasted three days and which involved a large portion of Northern Ireland's one and a half million citizens, at least seven people were killed and hundreds injured as poor Catholics fought British troops and Protestants with molotov cocktails, rocks and guns.

The current rioting lessened by the beginning of July, but it could flare up again at any time. The anger of both Catholics and Protestants is being fueled by the high level of unemployment in the region which will get worse as English and other businessmen avoid investing in new ventures as long as the "unsettled" political situation continues.

The author of the following piece is an Irish student in the United States and is active in the Irish

Socialist Liaison Committee, and American group with close ties to People's Democracy – the organization Bernadette Devlin helped to found.)

The recent outbreak of violence in Northern Ireland, set off by the imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin, has again focused world attention on that small part of Ireland which remains under Britain's rule. In most cases, the American mass media have presented the confrontation as nothing more than a crazy struggle between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

Most Americans find it difficult to understand why so much furor should be created over a matter of religion in this day and age, when peaceful relations between Protestants and Catholics are so widely accepted in the U.S. The truth is that religion is not so much the cause of the conflict in Northern Ireland as it is a means by which the aristocratic Protestant establishment maintains its position of power and wealth by setting the poor Protestant working class against its Catholic counterpart.

The Protestants in Northern Ireland are welded together by the secret Orange Order whose political arm the Unionist Party, has completely controlled the Northern Ireland government since 1921, when the state was established after the partition of the country by Britain against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people. Although the Orange Order proclaims itself as the protector of Protestantism against domination by "Papists," their real function, as described more than 50 years ago by Irish revolutionary socialist James Connolly, is quite different:

> "The Orange Order was not founded to safeguard religious freedom but to deny religious freedom; and it raised this religious question not for the sake of any religion but in order to use religious zeal in the interests of the oppressive property rights of rack-renting landlords and sweating capitalists."

The attempts of Connolly and other Irish socialists to forge an alliance between poor Catholics and the Protestant working class have had intermittent success in the last 50 years, but ultimately have been thwarted by the Orange Order's blatant appeal to anti-Catholic sentiment. Since 1921, the function of the Orange Order has been made easier by Catholic politicians in the North and by Irish governments in the South whose standard formula for solving the "Irish Question" has been "End Partition" and nothing else.

But even the most committed nationalist Catholic in the North of Ireland has not been too inclined to fight seriously to end partition as long as successive South of Ireland governments have done little to improve the quality of life of the average citizen there. Conditions in the South have been so bad that consistently there are as many native-born Irish living *outside* Ireland as there are in the homeland. Though politically independent of Britain, Ireland is still economically dependent on it for industrial development and for many important consumer products.

The introduction of the Welfare State in Britain by the Labor Party after World War II gave superior social benefits in education, medical services, and unemployment benefits to the Catholic residents of Northern Ireland. They in turn reinforced Northern Catholic apathy to the "End Partition" policy of their political leaders. While Catholics despised the blatant discrimination of the ruling Unionist Party in the North, there was no alternative political group which seemed to provide an answer to their problems.

This frustration was heightened by the policy of British governments which rhetorically opposed apartheid in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa but conveniently ignored the severe repression of Catholics in Northern Ireland by the Unionist Party through such mechanisms as the Special Powers Act. This act permits people to be arrested without a warrant and allows indefinite imprisonment of anyone suspected of rebellious activity. The Prime Minister of South Africa has said that he would give his left arm to have one provision of the Special Powers Act in his rule book!

Up to a few years ago, it was almost impossible to conceive of any change in the North of Ireland situation. But the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement in late 1968, which was greatly influenced in ideas and methods by the Civil Rights movement in the U.S., completely changed the political climate. Ignoring the "End Partition" strategy, students and others in the Civil Rights movement issued a series of demands (such as "One man – one vote," "One man – one job," and "One man – one house") which were addressed directly to the social injustices to which not only the Catholic but also the Protestant working class are subjected.

To achieve these demands the Civil Rights activists decided not to work through the conventional political channels but rather to organize mass demonstrations and marches to gain popular support. When the Unionist Government refused to issue permits, the actions went ahead without them, and were met with such police brutality that the international press began spreading news of the events in Northern Ireland around the world. Such press coverage was embarassing not only to the Unionist Government but also to the Labor Government in Britain which was forced by world opinion to face a problem it had managed to quietly ignore previously.

Harold Wilson's government insisted that the Unionists introduce reforms such as disarming the Protestant-dominated police force and adding more Catholics to it to cool down the tense situation.

Liberal Unionists who were in power in Belfast at the time were prepared to grant the reforms provided their economic base of power was not undermined. But the liberals ran into trouble in their own party since Protestants of all classes were swinging sharply to the right. The Protestant majority had always been told that Northern Ireland was a "Protestant state for a Protestant people," and they therefore regarded the introduction of any reforms as treachery and a surrender to the Catholics.

Their most vocal and articulate spokesman is the Reverend Ian Paisley who holds an honorary doctorate from right-wing Bob Jones University in South Carolina and is Lester Maddox and George Wallace all rolled into one. In the recent British election the shift to the right was confirmed by the election of Paisley and other hard-line "law and order" Unionists to the Northern

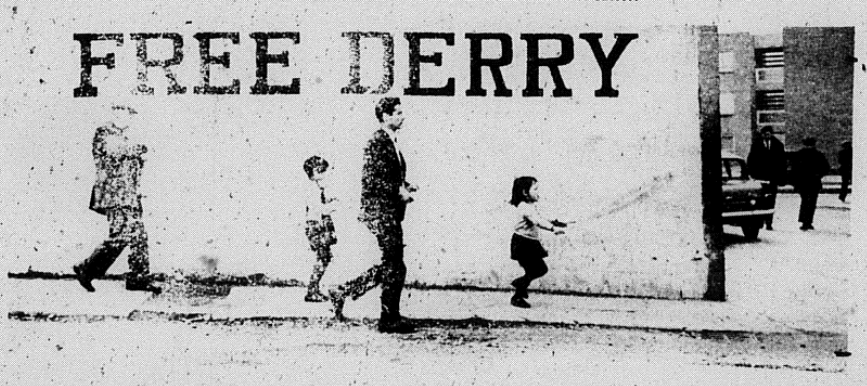
Ireland Parliament. One interesting sidelight to right-wing Conservative Enoch Powell's racist campaign in England was his contention that Britain could no longer put up with "anarchistic elements" of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland who seek to promote revolution there.

Powell was referring to revolutionary socialist groups within the Civil Rights Movement such as the People's Democracy and radical wings of other Irish parties. These groups believe that the granting of civil rights demands is only the first stage in a struggle towards the establishment of a Workers' and Small Farmers' Socialist Republic of Ireland which would be run equally by both Protestants and Catholics and would be economically and politically independent of Britain.

The radicals attack the positions of both the Northern and Southern governments because, in the words of Mike Farrell, a leading member of People's Democracy, "Even with Civil Rights conceded, there would still be unemployment, slums, and emigration on both sides of the Border." Representing a radical approach to Irish politics unseen since the days of James Connolly, their efforts have resulted in a marked radicalization of young people in the South, who have now begun to realize the great problems inherent in their own society.

In the North, radicals such as Bernadette Devlin have worked long and hard to win their Catholic constituency to a socialist position and to form an alliance with the Protestant working class, which faces only slightly less harsh economic oppression. The grim reality which the recent fighting brings out is that the radicals have largely failed and Paisleyism has, at least for the present, won out among the Protestant majority.

Last August, the large number of Protestants and Catholics who work in the Belfast shipyards agreed not to fight each other and this represented a hopeful sign for future cooperation at the time. However, one of the most unfortunate incidents of the recent turmoil was the threat of many Protestant shipyard workers to their fellow Catholic laborers: "Turn up at the docks and we'll shoot you."

The future for Ireland does not look very promising at the moment. The two Irish governments are extremely unstable and either or both could topple at any time. Such events happening in the immediate future would likely play into the hands of the Conservatives and fascists in Northern Ireland rather than the socialists.

The hope for the future lies with the young people of Ireland. One move in the right direction may be the suggestion of Eamonn McCann, a radical leader and a close associate of Bernadette Devlin's – for the formation of an Irish Socialist party embracing all the radical groups north and south of the border. But as long as poor Catholics and poor Protestants fight each other, both will continue to suffer.